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TIMES
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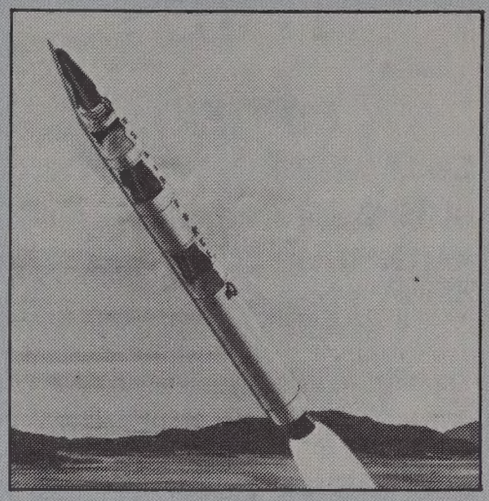
CAMPAIGN '86
A SPECIAL REPORT

With few exceptions, electoral activists have failed to review their 1984 strategies. What went wrong? What can be done to correct mistakes? As another election year rapidly approaches, we must...

(continued on page 16)



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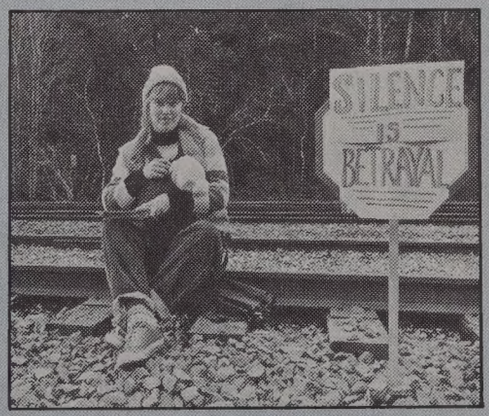

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Letters

Gut Issues

I enjoyed the article by Daniel Ellsberg ["Blind Men's Bluffs," July-Aug. '85] and wish you would do more interpretive and analytical pieces. We can get most straight news about the arms race and nuclear weapons in the standard press although, of course, the slant is all wrong. What we sorely lack is discussion of such topics as: Is Congress becoming as unresponsive as the executive branch? Most of the present Senate is a peace worker's nightmare, but the House too seems to be going in that direction. Whatever Reagan wants, he gets, with maybe 10 percent sliced off. When do letters, demos, vigils, canvassing sessions, visits to lawmakers, etc., become a recognized waste of time? And what comes next?

Herman Kahn made a career out of thinking the unthinkable. Maybe it's time to stop sewing peace ribbons for the Pentagon and start analyzing what we face in this system and if there are any resources we can summon to make a dent.

Maybe a move for a big increase in international authority might help, on the presumption that no country can be trusted to do anything but look after its own interests—a stance that today is leading to global suicide. How about some articles that really get to the guts of the problem?

—Jeanne Sollen
Milwaukee, Wi.

Words From Woodson

A few comments on your article about the Silo Pruning Hooks ["Pruning Hooks Get 18 Years," June-July '85], beginning with a correction. My scheduled parole date is November 11, 1996—two-thirds of the sentence, not one-third—and I imagine a similar percentage will be required of Fathers Carl and Paul Kabat and Larry Cloud-Morgan. The men have filed an appeal with excellent arguments on international law and intent; I have chosen not to appeal.

However, this is not my main reason for writing. I have followed with much dismay the publicity surrounding our action, most of which has focused on the harsh sentences. I must say that I find this terribly misdirected. What does a resister's term of imprisonment have to do with the ever-increasing threat of nuclear annihilation? Would the United States have been closer to disarmament had we received two-year sentences? Unless the court is willing to accompany its occasional antinuclear statements and leniency towards civil disobedients with an order outlawing nuclear weapons, its decisions are meaningless.

The problem is not getting the Silo Pruning Hooks out of jail, but getting the missiles out of Missouri's corn fields. We are most grateful for the many expressions of personal concern, but we ask first and foremost that the focus remain where it belongs—on the responsibility of each person to act in conscience.

I have been asked if I have any regrets, and the answer is no, not for one moment. What we did at Missile Silo M-5 was and is a celebration of life and a statement of truth.

—Helen Woodson
Alderson, W.V.

Russians The Kicker

In your May-June issue, letter-writer Simon Olshavsky expresses fear that "discussion of Russia would . . . distract attention from the issues of peace."

I can't understand how a serious (i.e., a pragmatic rather than a messianic) concern for peace can be implemented by any other means than a negotiated understanding between the adversaries about settling their differences. Even advocates of unilateral peace action must, it seems to me, regard those steps as only preliminary moves toward negotiation. Olshavsky's stance is surely unreal!

—Herman Solomon
Albany, N.Y.

HERBERT SCOVILLE

The arms control community lost a great friend on July 30, when Herbert Scoville Jr. succumbed to cancer at the age of 70. "Pete" Scoville was a founder and president of the Arms Control Association (ACA) and one of the leading expert spokespersons in the fights against the MX missile, abrogation of the ABM treaty, and many other efforts. It is fitting that his final contribution to the cause was a major article in the ACA's June *Arms Control Today* bulletin, calling for "Reciprocal National Restraint" as an alternative to building new nuclear weapons.

Scoville was a technical expert and an "insider" but he went out of his way to assist movement groups outside the arms control establishment. In an interview with NUCLEAR TIMES last year Scoville said that his advice to activists was: "You have to keep pushing. The only way it will be accomplished will be with the people. They are the essence. It is not the experts." —Eds.

Send letters to NUCLEAR TIMES, *298 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.*

EARLY WARNINGS

STATE AID: The book isn't perfect. A local SANE chapter in Indiana told the authors that the Naval Avionics Center in Indianapolis, which helps make fire control systems for the Trident and other nuclear-armed submarines, had been omitted. But for the most part, the state-by-state listing of nuclear weapons-related facilities in *Nuclear Battlefields*, the book by William Arkin and Richard Fieldhouse [See "Resources," July/August NUCLEAR TIMES], is providing local activists with new, useful information for organizing.

"We were 90 percent sure that Yorktown Naval Weapons Station had nuclear weapons, but we didn't know the numbers," says Steve Hodges of the Richmond Peace Education Center in Richmond, Virginia. "This book tells us that exactly." (There are an estimated 542 warheads stored at the weapons station, including 25 Tomahawk cruise missiles, according to the book.) Hodges also learned of a nearby facility involved in ballistic missile testing, and his group may begin protests there. Judging from the media response to the book, many communities across the country have been discovering their roles in the arms race. According to Arkin, 29, director of nuclear weapons research at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., over 1000 articles have been written about the book, which was published on June 14. After just six weeks, *Nuclear Battlefields* had sold about 17,000 copies.

Apart from the omission cited above, the only complaint by activists is that the book fails to discuss the industrial side of the arms race. This may be rectified by the completion of Arkin's next project, the *State Atlas of Military Affairs*, an assessment of the political and economic impact of the military—modeled on *The Almanac of American Politics*—which will also include a look at the status of each state's citizen activism.

BEST SELLERS: If pithy tag lines like "Where's the beef?" and "Coke is it" are effective in selling a product to millions of people, why can't similar messages be effective in halting the arms race? David Johnson, vice president of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, a leading Madison Avenue advertising firm, thinks they can, and, to prove it, is planning his own ad campaign for disarmament this fall. "If we can put Madison Avenue's best to work on the problem," says Johnson, "we can come up with the right sort of advertising to unsell the arms race."

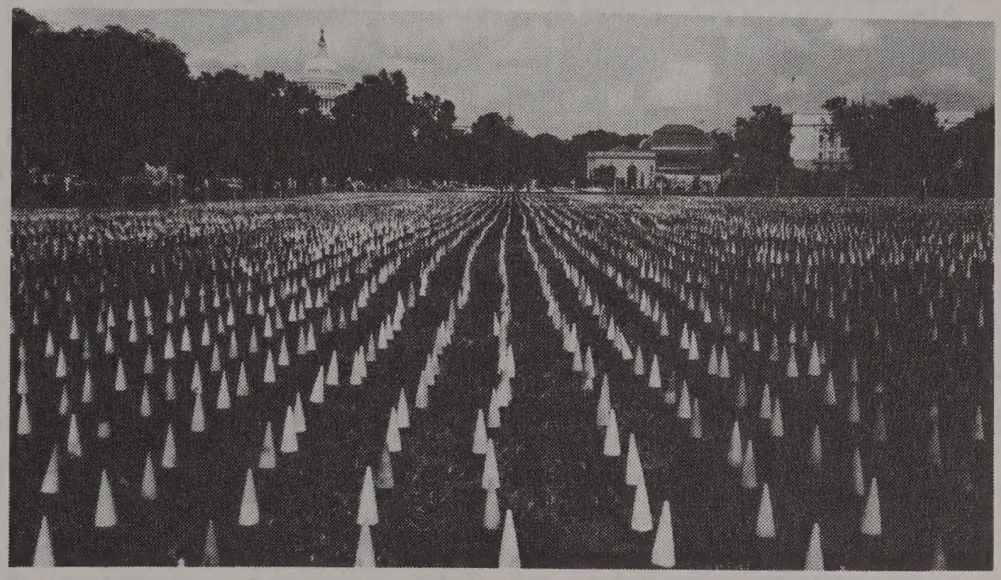
Johnson, who won a Clio Award for a pro-freeze poster he designed during the 1984 presidential race, has already contacted many other industry stars, including Maxwell Dane, who played a major role in the influential "Unsell the War" campaign during the Vietnam era and who is a founder of Doyle Dane Bernbach, the ninth largest advertising firm in the country. To spur interest in his project, Johnson will be conducting a seminar this fall, cosponsored by the Freeze Campaign, that will expose ad executives and copywriters to facts and figures on the arms race. A subsequent competition will be held to select the most innovative disarmament ad campaign. The winner, Johnson says, will be the one that doesn't "just confirm the public's fear of nuclear weapons," but, like his pro-freeze poster, "points the way out."

Once a campaign is chosen, buying prime time and space will be expensive, admits Marguerite Beck-Rex, the media director for the Freeze Campaign. That hurdle may have to be sidestepped by advertising through more limited public service routes.

SET PIECES: At least 40 public television stations across the country will broadcast a 14-part film series entitled *Preventing Nuclear War* this fall, and grassroots activists are being asked to lobby for wider viewing. The free series is the brainchild of The Cambridge Forum, a Massachusetts-based group.

A wide range of films, including *In the Nuclear Shadow*, *What About the Russians?*, *Gods of Metal* and *Weapons in Space*, will be shown weekly from September through November. The Forum encourages individuals to inform their local public television stations about *Preventing Nuclear War* and to request its broadcast. To assist local groups and television stations in hosting public forums and panel discussions, The Cambridge Forum has published a discussion/action guide with thought-provoking questions on each film, a compilation of relevant resources, and a list of contacts in nuclear politics. (The guide can be obtained for $2 from The Cambridge Forum, 3 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02138 617 495-2727.)

During October and November, public television stations will also broadcast nationally a program called *War* on Tuesdays at 9:00 p.m. EST. Seven episodes of this series on the nature of contemporary military conflict were produced by Canadian columnist and military historian Gwynne Dyer. The eighth episode, an epilogue on deterrence, was produced by Seattle station KCTS.



Colorado artist Barbara Donachy installed her exhibit, "Amber Waves of Grain," on the Mall in Washington, D.C., for two weeks in August. The 35,000-piece clay replica of the entire U.S. nuclear arsenal will be at the Boston Museum of Science in January and the Burpee Art Museum in Rockford, Illinois, in April.

PHOTO BY BARBARA DONACHY/NUCLEAR ARSENAL PROJECT

ON THE ROAD AGAIN: Only a year after its inception with a handful of activists in three cities, "truckwatching" is well on the road to becoming a national success. During "H-Bomb Awareness Week"—the first eight days of October—several thousand participants will stalk unmarked truck convoys across 48 states in order to drive home the pervasive nature of nuclear weapons.

The first three truckwatch sessions—run from a nerve center in Oklahoma which coordinates stake-outs of weapons plants and depots, dispatches pursuit vehicles, and monitors local vigils in the

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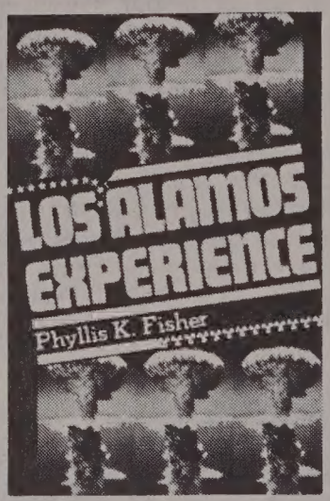
By PHYLLIS K. FISHER • Foreword by ALAN CRANSTON



Six thousand people lived in tightly guarded secrecy at Los Alamos, New Mexico, while the first atomic bomb was being built there during World War II. Phyllis K. Fisher was one of them, a sensitive young wife and mother whose husband was a scientist on the project. Her story—triggered by a visit to Hiroshima thirty-five years later—is a rare account of what life was like at the home of "the best kept secret of modern times." Drawing from letters she wrote to her parents during those uncertain years, Fisher vibrantly recaptures the immediacy, humor, anxiety, and trivia of day-to-day life in Los Alamos. Hers is at once a "domestic" story of husband, children, and friends in an unusual, insulated world, and an evocative portrait of a thoughtful woman living with the worries of the Atomic Age.

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convoys' paths—have received substantial local press coverage, and organizers predict the October event will receive even wider attention. Nukewatch, a Madison, Wisconsin-based group, has produced a revised packet of information for truckwatchers full of tips (such as how to identify a truck bearing H-bombs) and strategies gleaned from experience. The group is also collaborating with national organizations to promote the week. (The Freeze Campaign and WAND are distributing pamphlets to their local affiliates.) Nukewatch's Sam Day cites the precedent of Cruisewatch—a fast-growing British truckwatching group—and predicts that the week will feature action not only on established truckwatch routes in the Sunbelt but in such areas as New England.

Nukewatch is also hoping for less antagonism between truckwatchers and Department of Energy (DoE) personnel. Although the DoE has officially acknowledged the activists' right to track, in some cases word has not filtered down to convoy commanders, whose harassment techniques have included tailgaiting, attempting to sandwich truckwatchers off the road, and calling local police to detain trackers. Day attributes these frightening incidents partly to "our own inexperience" and to valid DoE concerns: "For all they knew we were mad bombers."

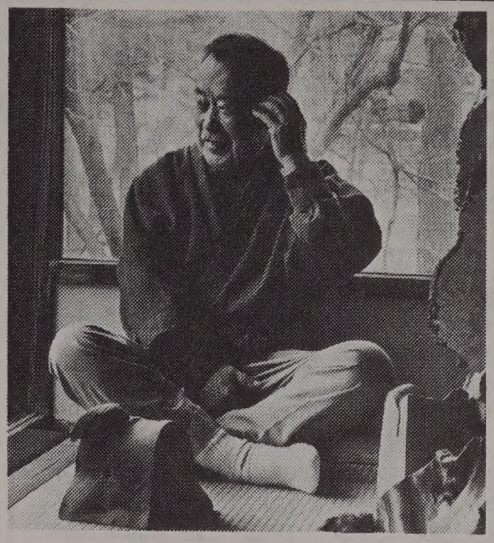
CAVE-IN CRUSHES HOUSE: The House will vote in September on the compromise military budget that came out of a two-week conference between House and Senate negotiators in mid-July—a vote postponed due to House Democrats' dissatisfaction with the results of the conference. The compromise allows for $302 billion in military spending during FY '86, and provides money for all major weapons systems requested by the Pentagon. It is a far cry from the original House version of the bill, which allocated $292 billion (an FY '85-level freeze), deleted money for several major weapons systems, and included strong procurement reform measures. "The House conferees pretty much caved in," says Gordon Adams, executive director of the Defense Budget Project at the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington, D.C.

This year, the Center helped coordinate lobbying efforts for a number of groups, including Common Cause, Council for a Livable World, and SANE. Despite the House's losses on the budget, Adams maintains that there are some important gains, even in the compromise bill. The $302 billion is about equal to a freeze-plus-inflation spending level. "If somebody had said a year ago that Congress is going to freeze defense

spending," says Adams, "they would have been laughed right out of the hall." The 50-missile cap on the MX, although higher than a House ceiling of 40, says Adams, "is a victory so obvious that almost nobody notices it."

The $2.75 billion for Strategic Defense Initiative research, however, is a major loss, he notes. And the failure to cancel any major weapons system could make future budget reform especially difficult as bills come due. "Congress has got to recognize that unless it gets a grip on weapons spending," says Adams, "it's going to find the defense budget completely out of control by the end of the decade."

ALTARED STATES: George Nakashima, the great American woodworker, has found a 250-year-old walnut tree which he says was "favored to grow" as none of its peers was able to. The famous designer of handcrafted furniture, whose work will appear in a show at the Whitney Museum in New York this fall, says that the presence of such a tree—he found it on an estate on Long Island—occurs only once in a lifetime, or perhaps just once in the history of a nation. A dream vision told him that the perfect use for the 125-foot-high walnut tree—its second life as he sees it—is as an altar or altars of peace, perhaps one on each continent.



Portrait of the artist: Nakashima at home

Nakashima, who was held in a detention camp for Japanese-Americans in California during World War II and now lives in New Hope, Pennsylvania, envisions the altar as the most expressive piece of furniture ever made. He would use the walnut tree in its full length and width, constructing triangle-shaped altars 14 feet wide and 12 feet long. (The slabs are drying now and will be ready to work on in the summer of 1986.) Weighing about three quarters of a ton, and placed inside a shrine, an altar could be on water or on land, and peace pilgrims could visit it.

The peace movement, the 80-year-old artist believes, has been based too much on fear and not enough on a vision of creativity and freedom. "Peace should be born as a genuine expression of nature and an act of beauty," Nakashima says. "The altar would be a way to express peace in a tangible form instead of an abstract idea." Nakashima wants as many people as possible to participate and suggests a contribution of no more than $10 per person (although he will accept larger gifts). For further information or to make a contribution, write Peace Altar, Box 366, New Hope, PA 18938.

JUSTICE PREVAILS: Topics as diverse as racism, Star Wars, and global hunger will be addressed by thousands of congregations in the third annual National Peace with Justice Week, from October 19–25. The National Council of Churches (NCC), the week's organizer, is predicting that between 30,000 and 40,000 interreligious groups will examine local conditions and global issues within a framework of peace and justice.

"Our emphasis is not on any one theme," says Gary Gamer, project coordinator, "but on coalition building, on getting people to recognize the myriad of themes

SCIENCE, ARMS CONTROL & NATIONAL SECURITY

This pressing issue for all scientists is the focal point of these new titles from the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS):

THE VERIFICATION CHALLENGE: Problems and Promise of Strategic Nuclear Arms Control Verification, by Richard A. Scribner, Theodore J. Ralston, and William D. Metz

A broad, authoritative examination of strategic nuclear arms control verification that addresses principles and tasks of verification, technology and monitoring, compliance issues, future verification needs, and views on what constitutes adequate verification. Available from Birkhäuser Boston, November 1985, ca. 200pp., $15. (Order from the publisher, 380 Green St., Cambridge, MA 08540)

STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL VERIFICATION TERMS AND CONCEPTS: A Glossary, by Richard A. Scribner and Kenneth N. Luongo

A comprehensive glossary of weapons technology, arms control, and treaty terminology. Published by AAAS (1985) 48pp., $2.50*.

STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL VERIFICATION: An Annotated Bibliography, 1977–1984, by Richard A. Scribner and Robert Travis Scott

A comprehensive, up-to-date guide to books and articles suitable for class or research use. Published by AAAS (1985) 96pp., $7.50*.

THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE: Some Arms Control Implications, by Jeffrey Boutwell and Richard A. Scribner

Implications of SDI for the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, for nuclear arms control negotiations, for limiting antisatellite weapons, and for the NATO alliance and counteractions by the Soviet Union. Contains Congressional action recommendations. Published by AAAS (1985) 48pp., $2.50*.

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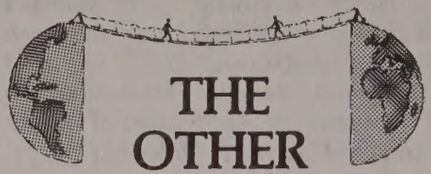

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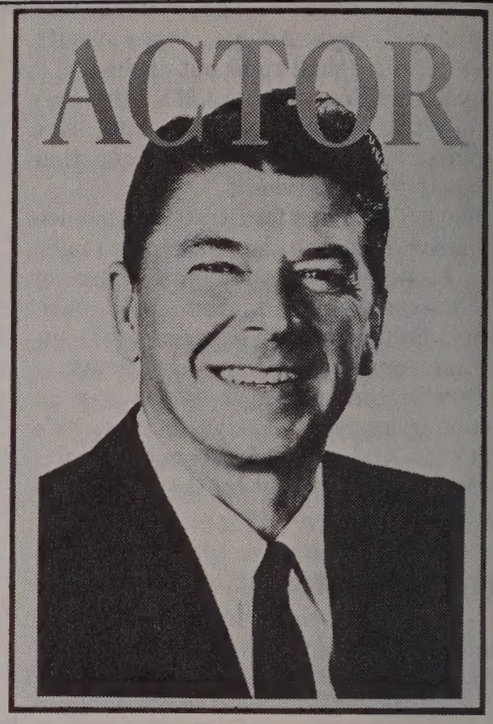
and see their interrelationship." Last year, some 20,000 religious communities participated in activities as varied as a peace parade in Buffalo, New York, and an Alaskan congregation's trek to an Eskimo Indian village. To assist local efforts, NCC has prepared a thick packet of ideas for themes, resources and actions. While groups such as Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) and the Fellowship of Reconciliation have helped plan the week and promoted it among their members, they do not intend to emphasize antinuclear issues. "The whole purpose of the week is to focus on peace *with* justice," says Emily Thomas, economic justice coordinator at CALC. "We want peace people to understand that unless they deal with justice issues they will not succeed."

WAR WITHOUT WARNING: The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco will soon decide on an unusual lawsuit brought by Clifford Johnson, a British computer scientist, to forbid the Pentagon from adopting a launch on warning capability (LOWC). Such a system would automatically retaliate when electronic sensors detected an incoming missile attack, without any human confirmation. (The Pentagon will neither confirm nor deny plans for a LOWC, but says that "It is not U.S. policy to launch on warning.") According to Johnson, a manager at Stanford University's Information Technology Services, LOWC is a logical (but unacceptable) military choice when extremely short warning times make confirmation by humans nearly impossible. The Pershing II missiles in West Germany, he notes, allow a warning time of just three minutes.

In his lawsuit, Johnson maintains that a LOWC is unconstitutional. Launch on warning, he says, essentially puts the country in a state of war, bypassing elected officials; it denies Congress the power to declare war; it denies the president's role as commander in chief of the armed forces; and it denies U.S. citizens their right to due process in a decision to go to war. Assistant U.S. Attorney John Penrose, who argued the Defense Department's case, disagrees: "The power to make decisions in the military is reserved to the executive branch. . . . It is not a judicial matter." □



HEAD CASE: Part II of our series of posters by Talking Heads' leader David Byrne, something of a movie star himself after "Stop Making Sense." (Courtesy of David Byrne.)

Items by Douglas Cohen, Alex Miller, Marcia Newfield and Christopher Phelps.

Blips

Charlton Heston has decided not to run for the Senate in California after all—he chose to accept a role on the new "Dynasty II" show instead .... Nine of the Pentagon's 10 largest **contractors**, and 45 of the top 100, are under criminal investigation, according to *The New York Times* .... **A risk reduction** idea gaining attention involves installing safety locks on nuclear missiles at land and sea, which would take up to eight hours to unlock, thus slowing the pace of a brushfire nuclear war .... A petition campaign is starting in Massachusetts to place a legally-binding **nuclear free zone** act on the state ballot next November. Activists in Oregon have also launched a petition campaign for a November 1986 statewide ballot measure which calls for a special tax on nuclear weapons components made in that state, and a ban starting in 1992 .... A recent issue of *U.S. News and World Report* warns: "Growing nuclear-free-zone movement has **defense establishment** on edge. . . . Could mean trouble for some defense contractors" .... **Jobs with Peace** will be directing its "alternative budget" campaign initially at local communities, not Congress, and they've set it up as a long-term (not just budget season) project .... Forewarned/forearmed Dept.: Caspar Weinberger says that he is not intimidated by Congress' cap on **the MX** (at 50 missiles) and that he will demand the full force of 100 next year. He says proposals on new basing modes are forthcoming, but the Administration will also argue that due to advances in super-hardening all of the missiles could be put in fixed silos .... Latest from **Ted Turner**: He's sponsoring (and televising) U.S.-Soviet "Goodwill Games," sort of a mini-Olympics, in Moscow next July ....

POSTER BY DAVID BYRNE: PHOTOGRAPHED BY STEVEN BORNS

Blue-Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms

A comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) still seems far off, despite the Soviet halt, but it is acquiring important new scientific support. Prominent seismologists are presenting ground-breaking research to show that technical verification of a CTBT—or something very similar, a low yield test ban treaty, which would prohibit all testing above one kiloton—is now virtually airtight.

The apparent leader of this research effort is Jack Evernden, a geophysicist with the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) in Menlo Park, California. In the 1960s Evernden received a medal from the Air Force Applications Center for his work in devising the first seismological procedures for distinguishing earthquakes from bomb explosions. Now, two decades later, Evernden, Charles Archambeau of the University of Colorado, and Edward Cranswick of the USGS, are completing a study of one of the most important recent discoveries in nuclear bomb blast detection—that explosions generate distinctive high-frequency waves, which travel fairly great distances with low "noise" or interference from other activities in the atmosphere or on the surface of the earth.

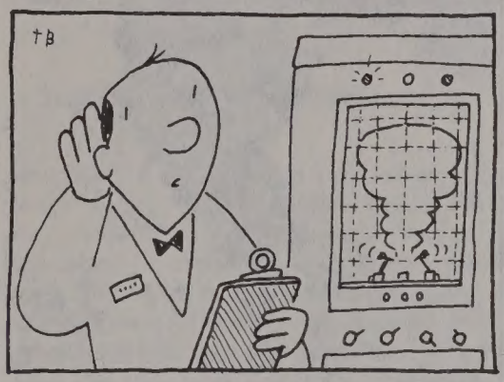
From an arms control perspective, these findings are important because they seem to allay two nagging doubts about test-ban verification:

• *Muffling or "decoupling."* Seismic waves generated by an explosion may evade detection if "decoupled"—isolated from surrounding rock—by conducting tests in huge underground holes or salt mines. High-frequency waves, however, appear to be much less susceptible to muffling.

• *"Hiding" bomb tests during earthquakes.* With high-frequency monitoring this is now considered unlikely since high-frequency waves associated with explosions do not occur with earthquakes, and these high frequencies are not drowned out by the interference or "noise" of an earthquake.

Given these new data about high frequencies, Evernden concludes that with an adequate seismic monitoring system, it would be virtually impossible to conceal underground explosions of nuclear bombs larger than one kiloton. (Strategic weapons development requires testing bombs in the five-to-10 kiloton range.) As for a monitoring system, which would have to be negotiated, Evernden proposes one that is relatively minimal—25 unmanned seismic stations inside the Soviet Union and 15 external stations, with a complementary U.S. system.

Evernden, an unabashed proponent of a CTBT for over 20 years, now favors a low yield test ban treaty (LYTBT). In a recent phone interview, Evernden explained that the switch was meant to answer arguments against a CTBT. "Somebody's always going to corrupt the environment that you negotiated the treaty in," Evernden reasons, "so the best route is to build a treaty at the beginning that cannot be perverted in an atmosphere of distrust."



One of the most persistent arguments against a CTBT is that the Soviets would secretly carry on experiments with low-yield weapons, which would permit them to keep their labs viable while the U.S. labs grow dormant. The beauty of the LYTBT, according to Evernden, is that it is totally monitorable and permits "anyone to do what he wants below the one-kiloton threshold" (but prevents strategic weapons tests in the five-to-ten kiloton range).

When asked why the discovery of high-frequency waves is coming now, so late in the arms race, Evernden explains somewhat ruefully that the technical capacity to monitor these waves has existed for a long time. But because seismologists have been primarily concerned with earthquakes, which do not generate monitorable high-frequency waves, the subject was for years virtually ignored.

All of that has now changed. At the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in Livermore, California, James Hannon, program manager of seismic monitoring research, reports that "about one-quarter of the program" is devoted to the high-frequency issue. Hannon, however, has publicly expressed reservations about relying on the high-frequency discovery as a "technical fix" for verification uncertainties. In contrast to Evernden, Hannon proposes a more intensive in-country monitoring system, composed of 30 so-called "array stations" which would be much larger than those envisioned by Evernden. During a recent telephone interview, Hannon said he had not yet formally reviewed the paper by Evernden, Archambeau and Cranswick, but that he did question some of the data extrapolations.

Evernden contends that the paper has already gone through two rounds of review at Livermore, and that Hannon has "no real, serious objections to the technical content." Evernden reports that another representative of Lawrence Livermore, George Miller, at an arms control session at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Los Angeles last May, argued against negotiating a CTBT purely because the United States needed more strategic weapons development, not because of any lingering doubts about verification. In fact, according to Evernden, Miller asserted that in order to evade testing detection you would have to test "behind the moon."

At Columbia University, Lynn Sykes, head of the earthquake studies group at the influential Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory in Palisades, New York, and author of a *Scientific American* verification paper with Evernden in October 1982, reports there is now very good data from a seismic monitoring station in Norway to show that one monitoring system is "able to detect high frequencies from tests that are 2000 miles away." Sykes notes that "Hannon tends to play this [high-frequency issue] down, and some of the people in the Defense Department tend to play it down further"—a tendency that Sykes sees as part of a pattern of attempts to "refer items back to committee."**-Corinna Gardner**

B L U E P R I N T S • B R I E F S

Nuclear ethics and the possible advantages of unilateral disarmament are the subjects of *Risking Armageddon*, a book coming out of the **University of Chicago's** Committee on Public Policy this fall .... The International Security Project at the **University of Maryland** is looking at policies (such as the SDI) that are based on the assumption that we will *always* be allied with the countries we are allied with now .... The Finite Deterrence Project at **Princeton University** is examining a tenfold reduction in the superpowers' arsenals, and how that can be verified .... The Psychology of Soviet/American Relations Project at **Columbia University** will also produce a book this fall—*Psychology and Deterrence*. Another Columbia project is studying whether new definitions of "ethics" and "national interest" need to be derived in the nuclear age ....

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST

Commemorations Sweep Nation

"We're tired and sunburnt," said Roxanne Elder of the Red River Peace Network, "but glad that it went so well." For six days, despite intense heat and rain, Elder camped out with hundreds of others at the Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant near Amarillo, Texas to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings and call for measures to end the arms race. Elder's feelings of exhaustion and satisfaction were common among peace activists following what many believe to be a record number of simultaneous anti-nuclear events held across the country in early August.

The largest crowd gathered in Washington, D.C. on August 4, when 15,000 people from around the nation held up The Ribbon's estimated 25,000 cloth panels. Although the turnout fell short of the 100,000 participants originally sought, the entire 15 miles of panels were briefly tied together to form a continuous line around the Pentagon, the Capitol and the Ellipse. *The Washington Post*, in a front-page story, called it "an event so subdued and serene that it defied description as a protest."

Activists were also busy at the grass roots. Mobilization for Survival's peace tour featuring hibakusha (A-bomb survivors) and activists (from Japan and the United States) visited 75 small towns and large cities across the country. At nearly every stop, according to MfS's Tara Moore, the response was heartening. In Vermont, the governor and the mayor of Burlington met with one of the seven hibakusha tour groups; in Nashville, Tennessee, 4000 people came to an August 4 hibakusha rally sponsored by the local Freeze Campaign and others.

The media responded strongly to the human interest side of the hibakusha story, and the interest carried over to the groups that sponsored the tour. "We've never seen so much media coverage of MfS," says Bruce Cronin, the group's disarmament coordinator. "Rarely do we get a public forum to call for something like the *abolition* of nuclear weapons—usually public debates center around the number of weapons that are needed."

In Los Angeles, several weeks of cultural and religious activity culminated in a 15-mile-long vigil on Wilshire Boulevard stretching from the ocean to downtown. *The Los Angeles Times* estimated that 3000 people stood along the route, although organizers say there were closer to 8000. The commemoration also included services at some 2000 congregations, numerous art exhibits, and a series of 14 symposia on the arms race, including a conference at Caltech on the role of scientists in the nuclear age.

Robin Williams speaks to San Diego crowd

In Iowa, as in many states, activists of different stripes joined together to sponsor religious services, church bell ringing and street theater in over a dozen cities. The 42-group coalition also organized a road show for small towns in northwestern Iowa, featuring members of Peace Links, including Eleanor Bedell (wife of Representative Berkley Bedell) and Deba Leach (wife of Representative Jim Leach).

Paper lantern ceremonies were held in more than 15 cities, according to Raoul Rosenberg, associate director of Physicians for Social Responsibility, which helped coordinate the activities. At La Crosse, Wisconsin, 2000 lanterns were floated on the Mississippi River, and in Chicago the lanterns were launched in a lagoon near where the first man-made nuclear reaction occurred during the Manhattan Project.

Celebrities also played an important role in the proceedings. MEND (Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament), a group founded just four months ago, attracted 10,000 people to its August 6 "Walk for Peace," according to organizer Jonna Faulkner. After a short stroll through San Diego's Balboa Park, walkers were treated to a program that included performances by comedian Robin Williams and singer Melissa Manchester, and a taped message from actor Paul Newman calling for a CTB. "We had thought we might get 2000 people, and we were prepared for 5000," says Faulkner. "It was incredible that we got so many."

At the Pantex peace camp, says organizer Janis Heine, Ed Asner's presence contributed to the camp's daily front-page coverage in Amarillo's newspapers. Many of the 300 peace campers arrived after riding bicycles from other cities in Texas, Colorado, and Oklahoma. (One group came 250 miles on horseback from Oklahoma City.) The international bike pilgrimages that had been planned (originating from the Soviet Union and Cuba) both fell through.

Pantex was one of over 25 sites where acts of civil disobedience were committed (most coordinated nationally by MfS). At the Nevada Test Site on August 6-9, a total of 119 people were arrested, including Daniel Ellsberg, as part of the religiously-oriented August Desert Witness after protesters crossed a white line painted on the road by the Department of Energy. And MfS reports there were over 400 arrests (not including those at the Nevada Test Site) across the nation.

Surprisingly, about 300 people were arrested while participating in the International Shadow Project, an event held in 326 communities worldwide, including Nagasaki and Budapest, Hungary. According to project co-director Alan Gussow, an estimated 125,000 human silhouettes—symbolizing those killed in Hiroshima—were painted on the streets and sidewalks, close to the number killed immediately from the bombing. The large number of Shadow Project arrests—mostly for "criminal mischief"—was unexpected, since water-erasable paints were used. In New York City, several arrestees complained that they were interrogated by police not about any criminal wrongdoing, but about their political position. They claim that police asked questions like "What about Pearl Harbor?" and defended the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki before releasing them.

Along with the successes of the 40th-

PHOTO COURTESY OF MEND

anniversary commemorations, there were some letdowns. "The biggest disappointment," says Patricia Morgan, coordinator of the 6 August Clearinghouse at the Center for Defense Information, "was the lack of mention in the national press of the beginning of the Soviet test moratorium, which went into effect August 6." However, she says, the range of activities and strong coverage in the local media "let people know that there is still a lot of life in the disarmament movement." **—Alex Miller**

WILL SOVIET BAN STAND?

Putting Reagan To The Test

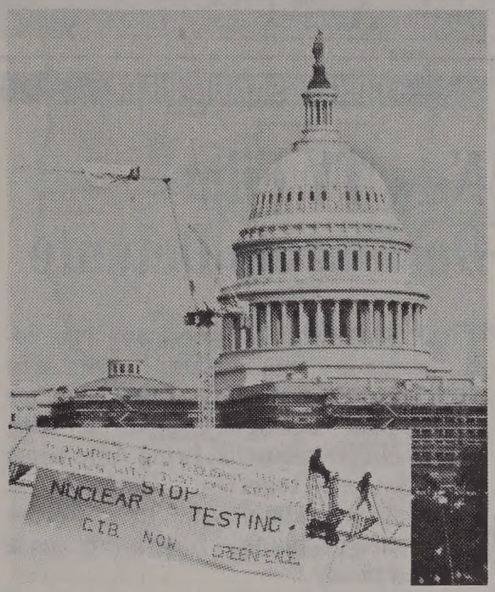
A nuclear test ban, which seemed far off on the horizon only months ago, is seemingly within reach following the Soviet suspension of all nuclear tests on August 6. But many activists are angry—and some discouraged—by the rapid and firm denunciation of the Soviet test halt by both the President and the press.

The unilateral Soviet moratorium follows a year-long campaign by the Center for Defense Information (CDI) and over 130 other groups to convince both superpowers to halt testing on the 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima attack. "There are a lot of organizations working for a test ban," says Barbara Levin, director of public education for CDI, "and the Soviet initiative is the window of opportunity." CDI Deputy Director Eugene Carroll has called the Soviet move "the most important arms control development of the decade."

While the pro-test ban groups, loosely dubbed The 6 August Campaign, praised the Soviet action, many activists are frustrated by the series of misleading statements which accompanied the Reagan Administration's dismissal of the Soviet's purported "propaganda" move. A senior Administration official, for example, accused the Soviets of a "significant acceleration" of tests in the weeks before the moratorium. But the United States had, to that point, made more tests in 1985 than the Soviet Union, whose test totals were actually lower than average. "By no stretch," says David Morrison, researcher at CDI, "was there a significant acceleration in Soviet testing."

A column by Mary McGrory of the *Washington Post* suggested that these factual errors were not accidental. "It [the joint test moratorium] had to be stamped out immediately," a White House operative told McGrory, "so people wouldn't begin hoping it might happen."

Compounding misleading official statements was the complacency—even the cooperation—of the national media. The day of the Soviet announcement each of the network evening news programs led with long reports on a space shuttle flight. "The press rolled over," says Levin. She points out that a major press conference held the day after the Soviet initiative, featuring Senator Edward Kennedy and CDI Director Gene La Rocque, among others, was almost totally ignored by the media.



A Capitol idea: Greenpeace strikes again

"We were shocked," says Pat Harmon, legislative director of the Freeze Campaign, pointing out that in editorials the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* condemned the unilateral Soviet action. "The press response," she says, "was frightening, acting as a mouthpiece for the Administration." In her initial report on the moratorium, for example, CBS's Leslie Stahl referred to it as "propaganda" four times.

Even faced with such responses, activists are optimistic. "We've recuperated from those disappointments," says Raoul Rosenberg, associate director of Physicians for Social Responsibility. "This [the Soviet moratorium] provides a context to raise the CTB issue."

Some groups who have not joined the CTB bandwagon to date will start raising the issue, predicts Richard Healey, executive director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy; many already used the limelight of August 6 to promote it.

"This is a major breakthrough, a very positive development that will make it much easier to get a comprehensive test ban," says David Cortright, executive director of SANE.

But how successful will these efforts be, given the media response so far? "We will have a lot of success if we have a strong press strategy," says Harmon, who likens the situation to the early stages of this year's defense budget battle. Test ban advocates are planning intense lobbying this fall and will use the Soviet initiative as a component in their pre-Geneva Summit campaign. Levin predicts that the Bedell-Leach resolution, calling for reopened CTB negotiations, will probably come to a House vote in mid-September, and that a bill which halts testing funds could follow.

Taking an international perspective, Eric Fersht, disarmament coordinator for Greenpeace, says that the Soviet initiative "will intensify the likelihood that neutral, non-aligned countries will pressure the United States to take action." And Fersht notes new possibilities for activists at home: "We have to come up with creative ways to make it clear to the media, the public, and Congress—not just Reagan—that this opportunity cannot be lost."

True to his word, ever-creative Greenpeace activists came up with a fresh approach, hanging test ban banners from a crane suspended above the Capitol in Washington on August 5th. A photo of this spectacle made the front page of the *Washington Post*. **—Christopher Phelps**

WILL MOVEMENT PEAK?

Summit Tops Fall Agenda

When he meets Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on November 19 in Geneva President Reagan will probably be in an enviable "win-win" situation: Just by meeting with the Soviet leader he will win public opinion points, and if any good comes out of it he will win some more. But Reagan Administration officials won't be the only Americans preparing for the Geneva Summit. It is becoming clear that the summit will be a major focus of antinuclear movement activity this fall.

Few concrete plans have been set, but many groups are already adapting previously scheduled activities to take advantage of summit fever.

Educators for Social Responsibility has tied into the summit by dubbing its nationwide program, November 11-15, "Finding Common Ground." The Union of Concerned Scientists' annual teleconference will be aired exactly one week before the summit starts, and the group intends to use this timely coincidence to publicize its event. The Freeze Campaign and SANE will step up their current petition campaigns, addressed to Reagan and Gorbachev, and give them a summit twist. (The Freeze, which hopes to collect one million signatures, will collect petitions at its national convention, to be

PHOTO (CAPITOL) BY ANDRE CAROTHERS/GREENPEACE
PHOTO (INSET) BY NANCY FOOTE/GREENPEACE

held on the eve of the summit, and ship them to Geneva.)

But what wider efforts can be made?

At a recent off-the-record meeting of leaders of peace groups in Washington, D.C., there was a consensus on overall approach: Appear supportive of President Reagan but do everything possible to raise public expectations of what can be accomplished in Geneva "through the roof," as one participant put it. Many see the summit as a golden opportunity to deal with two major problems allegedly afflicting the movement. Activists can help ease their "unpatriotic" image problem by backing the President (while at the same time putting enormous pressure on him to deliver an arms control breakthrough). And they can undermine the helplessness many Americans feel by stressing that two men could sit down and end the arms race in just two days.

When a participant at the meeting argued against adopting an ambitious strategy because the summit is essentially "Reagan's show," one group leader countered: "But it *is* a show and how we position ourselves will have a lot to do with where we go from here."

Many specific ideas for action were raised, among them: a well-advertised letter-writing campaign and/or the establishment of a "900 number" to record telephone calls telling the President what the public wants him to accomplish in Geneva; teach-ins; and bringing thousands of children to the airport in Washington, D.C., when Reagan leaves for Geneva. (The Freeze Campaign subsequently proposed nationwide candlelight vigils the night of the opening session in Geneva. And several group leaders in Washington, D.C. have formed Women for a Meaningful Summit, which will seek meetings with Reagan and Gorbachev and will send a delegation of prominent women and grass-roots activists to Geneva.)

None of these ideas will likely go anywhere, however, unless groups can agree on one (or several) demands to organize around. To this end, John Isaacs, legislative director of Council for a Livable World, has distributed a five-point plan, in hopes that Reagan and Gorbachev will agree to "one or more" of them: reaffirm commitment to SALT II and the ABM Treaty, agree to *mutual* moratoriums on nuclear tests and ASAT tests, and agree in principle on the broad outlines of a new strategic arms treaty.

Sounds improbable, but the point likely to be hammered home this fall is this: It *could* be done—Reagan and Gorbachev's Thanksgiving present to the world.

—Greg Mitchell

CONVERSATION PIECE

New TV Film Documents Détente

That Soviets and Americans can cooperate is a simple point that seems to need constant repeating. The Forum for U.S.-Soviet Dialogue makes it with annual conferences that bring Americans and Soviets together. *Dialogue*, a documentary about the 1982 Forum conference in Irkutsk, Siberia, makes it too, and nicely.

But the film represents another collaboration. It was coproduced by The Documentary Guild (TDG), a small Massachusetts company, and Gostelradio, the sole source of television programming in the Soviet Union. And it will be aired on the same day (sometime in early December) in both countries, by Gostelradio, which reaches 200 million viewers, and by the Public Broadcasting System (PBS).

"I think the fact that we were a small company made it easier for the Soviets to consider coproduction," says Pamela Roberts of TDG. Roberts was one of three Americans who flew over "at the last minute" once the Soviets accepted TDG's proposal. There they met an 11-person Soviet crew, only one of whom spoke English.

After editing (with some Soviet input) and years of fundraising, TDG has given the project one more twist. They are finalizing plans to follow the film with an ambitious space bridge, also broadcast

Pam Roberts with Soviet co-producer Pavel Korchagin

by both Gostelradio and PBS, which will allow audiences from both countries to converse. Vladimir Posner, a Soviet radio commentator (and frequent guest on *Nightline*) will be the host in Moscow; TDG has nearly finalized negotiations with a famous U.S. television talk show host to anchor the American side.

The audiences will include experts and ordinary citizens. Meanwhile, Educators for Social Responsibility is creating a teacher's guide for the film, and TDG hopes to arrange a second U.S. airing during the daytime educational television schedule.

And what of *Dialogue* itself? The film is a moving profile of three Americans and three Soviets, including a Moscow journalist and a Dartmouth professor, who develop a friendship. We follow these six to dinners, sightseeing trips, a U.S.-Soviet basketball game, and the

Wrap-Up

The House has formally asked the Pentagon to redo its wishy-washy 1985 **nuclear winter** study, with a completion date set for March 1986 and annual updates through 1990 .... In the latest **SDI protest**, 57 professors in the physics department at the University of Illinois have signed a petition calling for a boycott of the space weapons program .... According to a recent *Washington Post* report, the Navy is expanding its nuclear warfare capabilities by **hardening ships and aircraft** against the effects of nuclear weapons. This new view—that a nuclear war could be contained at sea—"reverses past policy, according to congressional aides," the *Post* said .... The Navy finally picked **San Francisco** as the homeport for the *U.S.S. Missouri*. But activists in **New York** are on the verge of forcing a showdown ballot vote this November on the nuclear-armed battleships heading for their city .... New **B-1 bombers** will have four homes, all Air Force bases in the middle of the country (to keep them as far as possible from Soviet missiles): Grand Forks (ND), Ellsworth (SD), McConnell (KS) and Dyess (TX) .... New **Godzilla '85** film has an antinuclear theme .... **WAND** has developed a training program for public speakers which it is making available to other groups around the country .... The military refused to allow observers to take pictures of the **mushroom cloud** emanating from the largest non-nuclear explosion ever—an eight-kiloton blast—earlier this summer at the Trinity site, probably to prevent any fresh images of nuclear war from being circulated. Main reason for the enormous blast: to test **Midgetman** launchers .

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE DOCUMENTARY GUILD

conference itself, which focuses on media, trade and peace issues. We also learn of their careers, their lifestyles, their reasons for joining the conference, and their feelings about the arms race. Roberts admits that the film is soft on both countries; it aims simply to break down misperceptions on both sides. In a small way, it shatters at least one stereotype: Sunny Siberia looks like California.

—Cathy Cevoli

FORWARD MARCH

Peace, On 15 Miles A Day

Solar-heated showers. A mobile health-care unit and a personal radio station. Restaurants on wheels which will serve four million meals. A portable post office. A caravan of 40 trucks, eight buses, 20 cars and dozens of bicycles. Though less than one year old, Pro Peace, the sponsor of the Great Peace March, in which 5000 people will traverse 15 states in nine months beginning March 1, 1986, looks more like an established commercial enterprise than a fledgling nonprofit peace group.

Pro Peace founder David Mixner drew national and international media attention in April when he publicly announced the Los Angeles group's plans, and ongoing fundraisers and speaking engagements continue to generate media coverage. Mixner and over 50 full-time staff people and scores of volunteers work out of three floors of office space. They have set in motion a skillfully detailed plan to accommodate the marchers on their walk from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C., which will call on world leaders to "take the weapons down."

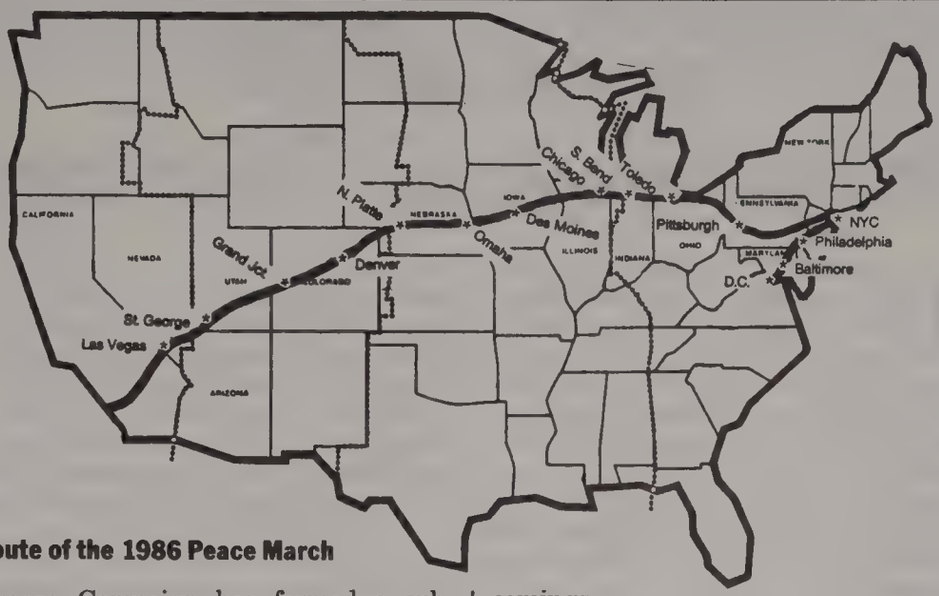
An advance team is now staking out the 3235-mile route, mapping the terrain and searching for 10-acre campsites every 15 miles. The legal department is securing permits for the mobile city, which will include 3000 brilliantly-colored geodesic tents, six mobile cafeterias, and entertainment areas. Staff members are working with campus, peace and church groups around the country, and putting out a monthly newsletter.

Among Pro Peace's fundraising programs is Adopt-A-Marcher, which encourages donors to contribute $1 for each mile the marcher they sponsor walks. Another: "Gimme Shelter," whereby (for $350) you are sent one of the tents at the end of the march. Paul Newman, Barbra Streisand and Kenny Loggins are among the celebrities who are lending their support.

But some groups remain skeptical. The executive committee of the National Freeze Campaign has formed a subcommittee to meet with Pro Peace staff members before it decides whether or not to endorse the group in November. Executive Director Jane Gruenebaum says the Freeze Campaign would like to see Pro Peace articulate a specific plan for "taking the weapons down," and be assured that the marchers will in no way disrupt local communities. It is also concerned about endorsing what it sees as a "one man show" with decisions made by Mixner instead of by the grass roots (Freeze-style).

And some older grass-roots groups in southern California complain of the Pro Peace effect on the already short supply of workers and money. "The resource drain is a reality," says Lynn Greenberg, executive director of the multi-organization Thursday Night Group in Santa Monica. But she and others feel that if smaller groups work with Pro Peace, the drawbacks will be outweighed by the ability to make increasing numbers of people aware of nuclear issues. (65 million people live on or near the march route.) Greenberg also believes that non-profit groups can learn from Pro Peace's impressive public relations, marketing and organizational skills.

—Kris Fischer



Route of the 1986 Peace March

STUDIES UNDERWAY

Media Cool To Message

For at least two years it has been apparent that the antinuclear weapons movement's media strategy is not working (or, in fact, is nonexistent). Now something is being done about it. At least half a dozen major media studies are under way, all aimed at ascertaining the current mood of the public, identifying the movement's image and public relations problems, and proposing steps that can be taken to remedy the shortcomings.

Probably the most long-term analysis has been conducted by the Peace Media Project, which has been examining this issue for over a year (with the active assistance of many leading arms control groups). Starting this past April, two of the Project leaders, David Cortright, executive director of SANE, and public relations specialist Richard Pollock, began meeting with a diverse group of 25 consultants: leading pollsters, advertising executives, media experts, and network television directors, among others. A final report is forthcoming. (The report, along with several other media projects, will be examined in an in-depth article in the next issue of NUCLEAR TIMES.)

Cortright and Pollock, in a recently-released interim report, draw several surprising conclusions, based on recent polling results and interviews with pollsters. For example, they reveal that all of the consultants with whom they met were unanimous in declaring that cutting military spending "is the most salient war and peace issue today." Conversely, public opinion on Star Wars is "moving in favor of those who support the new technology."

But before launching a major media campaign, Cortright and Pollock point out, the movement not only has to analyze public opinion—it also has to put its own house in order. The movement, they indicate, has serious image problems. (It's viewed as unpatriotic, narrowly partisan, and unfocused.) It cares too much about weapons systems and not enough about real "values." It needs to recognize and deal with the public's growing sense of helplessness. And it needs to groom and promote national spokespersons and make better use of existing media figures and entertainers.

Among the remedies: A permanent media budget. "We need to push the cause of peace continually," Cortright says, "year after year."

—Greg Mitchell

MAP COURTESY OF PRO PEACE

C.D. ACQUITTALS ON THE RISE

Protesters Make Their Case

The time-honored American practice of civil disobedience has traditionally landed its adherents in jail. And, in most cases, it still does. But recently, some protesters—many of them antinuclear—have been declaring that sit-ins, blockades, trespassing, and even destruction of property are not merely justified, but legal. And now, in what may be the start of a trend, some juries and judges across the country have agreed—and acquitted dozens of demonstrators.

The not-guilty verdicts may be traced back to February, 1984, when a Pennsylvania court ordered a new trial for the well-known Plowshares Eight, a group consisting of Daniel and Philip Berrigan and six other Christian activists. The Superior Court judges ruled that the eight had been unfairly denied the chance to present a "justification" defense during their trial, as provided by Pennsylvania law, to explain why breaking into a General Electric plant to hammer on the nose cones of two nuclear-capable warheads was a "justified" or necessary action. Justice Edmund Spaeth, citing legal authorities, wrote in his concurring opinion on the case, "There are higher values than the value of literal compliance with the law. . . . As soon as we acknowledge this fact, we recognize that the justification defense is essential to the rationality and justice of all penal provisions." The prosecution is appealing the ruling.

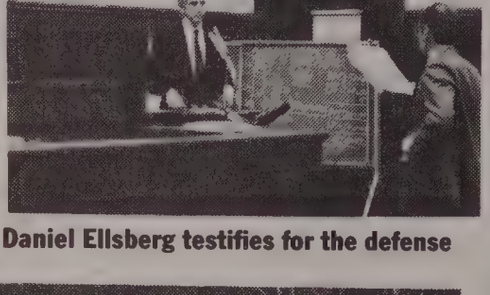
While the specifics may vary from state to state, under a justification or necessity defense the defendants can avoid punishment for their crime if they convince a judge or jury that they acted to abate a greater crime or imminent danger, that they had reason to believe their actions would be effective in preventing that crime, and that they had no legal alternative to abating that danger.

Either through statute or common law, every state allows the accused to use a justification defense: Someone can run a red light to speed an injured person to the hospital, and, by pleading necessity, avoid a traffic ticket. Until recently, though, judges have almost always refused to let civil disobedients rely on the justification defense. And in rare cases where the defense was admitted, acquittals were unheard of.

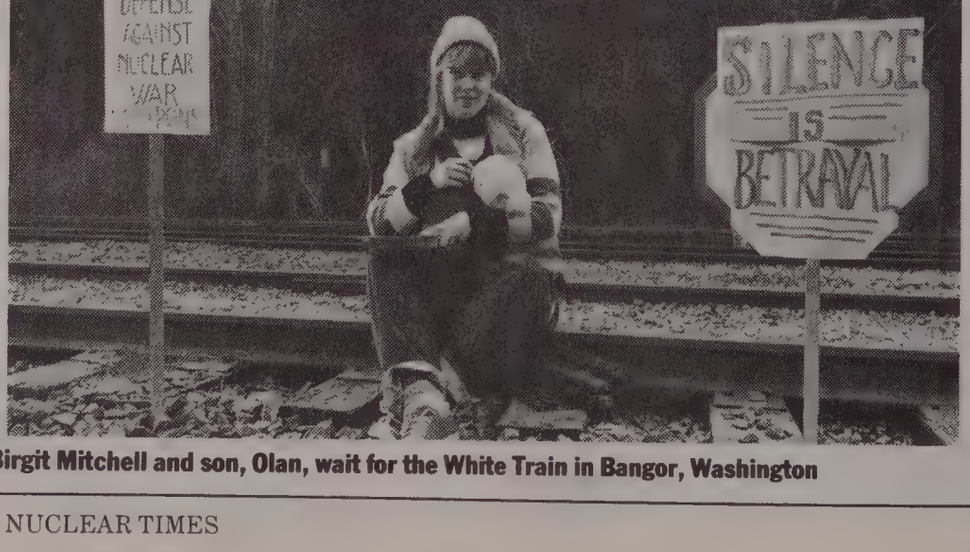
But recently, sometimes using the Plowshares Eight decision to back them up, activists have been able to argue—successfully—in court that they were obligated to commit a minor crime (such as trespassing or blocking traffic) in order to prevent a far more serious crime (such as the use of nuclear weapons).

These cases include:

• June 1984—Two antinuclear protesters acquitted of conspiracy charges for carrying a banner up the driveway of the Williams International plant in Walled Lake, Michigan, where the cruise missile engine is made.



Daniel Ellsberg testifies for the defense



Birgit Mitchell and son, Olan, wait for the White Train in Bangor, Washington

• November 1984—Twenty-six demonstrators in Vermont who occupied Senator Robert Stafford's Winooski office for a weekend to protest his support of the Reagan Administration's Central America policies were acquitted of trespass charges.

• March 1985—Three antinuclear protesters charged with malicious destruction of property at the Williams International plant were acquitted.

• April 1985—An Illinois jury acquitted seven antinuclear/intervention activists charged with mob action and resisting arrest after blocking an entrance to the Great Lakes Naval Training Center near Chicago.

• May 1985—In another jury trial, eight anti-apartheid protesters, accused of trespassing at a South African consulate, were acquitted in Chicago.

• June 1985—A Washington state jury acquitted 19 people who blocked a train carrying nuclear warheads. (In this case, a justification defense was not allowed.)

In each case, the demonstrators justified their actions by claiming that U.S. policy posed a more serious danger or crime than the one they had been accused of committing. The government was on trial in absentia.

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

What makes White House policy illegal is international law, according to defense lawyers in many antinuclear cases. It forbids, for example, the use of weapons of mass destruction that could indiscriminately kill civilians. "Our Constitution makes treaties the supreme law of the land," says former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who defended the Plowshares Eight. "We're party to the United Nations' Universal [Human Rights] Declaration, to various Geneva and Hague conventions, and to many other treaties and conventions of international law. Only a lawless nation would refuse to obey international law—especially when it's incorporated into domestic law."

It was the testimony of international law experts and an ex-CIA agent that convinced an Illinois jury that the Great Lakes Naval Training Center protesters were trying to prevent, by committing a minor crime, greater crimes posed by U.S. policies, according to one of the protesters' lawyers, Janine Hoft. "Maybe it would've been different if they [the government attorneys] had tried to parade some CIA person in to say we've got to do these covert operations and mine the harbors in Nicaragua," she says. "They didn't even try to justify America's illegality."

PHOTO (TOP) BY TINA LATIUS
PHOTO (BOTTOM) BY BRAD REYNOLDS

In cases when the justification defense and international law are not allowed into the courtroom, protesters have addressed these issues in the context of other, admissible testimony. In June, for example, a Washington state judge agreed to let antinuclear activists present evidence only about their "state of mind" at the time of their demonstration. After a dramatic and well-publicized two-day trial, 19 members of the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action in Poulsbo, Washington, were found not guilty of trespass charges for blocking a White Train, known to carry nuclear warheads.

"Our defense was that we knew we were upholding international law," says Karen Sticklin, one of the 19. "We didn't agree that we had committed an unlawful act. The Nuremberg Principles [a document, drafted after the Nuremberg judgment, which states that governments—and individual citizens—are obliged to uphold international law, even if that means violating the law of the state] are part of the U.S. Constitution." International law, she believes, outlaws weapons like Trident, which is a first-strike weapon and would kill civilians.

Local news stories about the trial reported that the jurors' verdict of not guilty did not mean they supported the protesters' politics. Most of the jurors were simply convinced that the demonstrators did not believe they were breaking the trespass law, and were instead, said one juror, "trying to avoid trouble," particularly since they had consulted with police and railroad officials in planning the blockade.

But Richard Falk, an international law expert at Princeton University who was in the courtroom when the verdict was handed down, comments: "It was a very moving and exciting case. Not only was the jury affected by all the testimony, but the officers of the court were, too. The clerk broke down and cried when she read the acquittal. Underlying the verdict was a sympathy for the larger issues. They seemed to realize that these people are trying to stop something destructive."

Why, then, didn't the jurors say that at the trial's conclusion? "What they say is not necessarily what made them decide," Falk points out. "In arriving at the verdict, they were ordered to consider fairly narrow, technical issues, and they felt they couldn't violate those orders. But most of these cases are decided on deeper, gut issues."

After the trial, one of the jurors, a self-described conservative named Suzanne Smith, reported that she wasn't sleeping at night and that the trial had had "a very profound effect on my life, and I don't think I'll ever be the same again." Similar reports of jurors' conversion have emerged from other cases; Rosemary Generoso, who sat on the Great Lakes Naval Training Center jury, told the *Chicago Tribune* that she now had an obligation to tell other people what she had learned from testimony during the trial.

OFFENSE BEST DEFENSE

Whether or not antinuclear protesters act as their own attorneys, defendants are learning that their best shot at acquittals—and political education of the public—lies in consulting qualified lawyers and expert witnesses.

"Political legal defense is an art form," says Ann Fagan Ginger, president of Meikeljohn Civil Liberties Institute in Berkeley, California, which aids defendants and their lawyers in using "peace law."

Should the recent string of acquittals encourage would-be civil disobedients to take to the streets? "I see two somewhat contradictory trends," says Richard Falk. "The first is a greater receptivity on the part of juries—and even judges—to the argument that there is a kind of lawful civil disobedience which arises from the reasonable belief on the part of the protesters that the government is acting illegally."

The second trend, according to Falk, is one toward very severe sentences, illustrated by the recent "Silo Pruning Hooks" case (where defendants represented themselves), which resulted in jail terms of up to 18 years. But this is found usually in cases where property—nuclear weapons or related machinery—is damaged. "It's clear the government is taking these actions more and more seriously," Falk continues. "There are obviously efforts being made to increase the costs to those who use these tactics."

Meikeljohn's Ginger, a veteran in political law, says, "It's too soon to make a simplistic statement that things are getting better or things are getting worse. Everything has to be tried. Eventually you can make a movement in the legal field. But not after a few cases."

It's clear, however, that activists are already encouraged. "Since the recent acquittals, more and more people [with impending trials] are asking to be put in touch with those who've used the justification defense successfully," reports Felice Cohen-Joppa, co-editor of *The Nuclear Resister*, a national paper on antinuclear civil disobedience. And if acquittals continue to mount, lawyers and defendants will be able to reassure judges that there are legal precedents. "If judges know that they're not in a position of isolation," says Richard Falk, "they're far more likely to be persuaded to allow citizens—both the jurors and the defendants—to have a role in affecting policies that could destroy us all."

—Renata Rizzo

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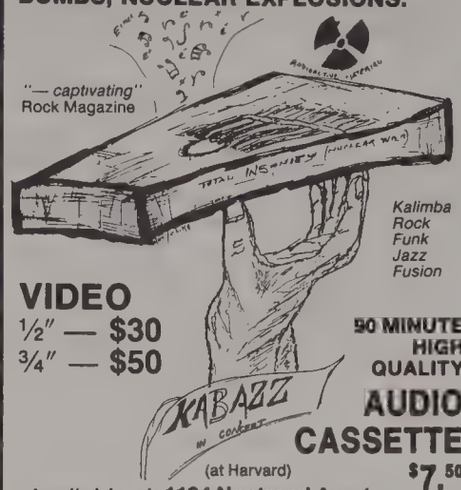

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FUTURE NOT PERFECT

Midgetman Comes Up Short

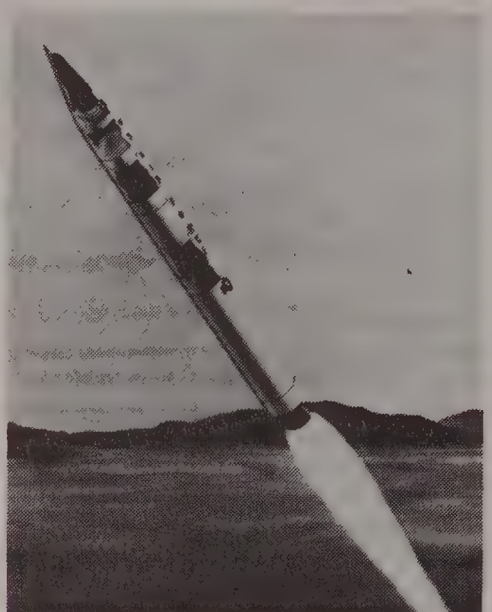
Representative Les Aspin has seen the future, but the future may not work. Aspin, in shrugging off the importance of the MX, recently declared that the "future for land-based missiles" rested on the narrow shoulders of the small, mobile, single-warhead Midgetman. Now it is beginning to appear that the Midgetman may be as riddled with flaws and political handicaps as its big brother, the MX.

Midgetman was born back in 1981 when Boeing, concerned that critics of the first-strike, sitting-duck MX would succeed in getting it cancelled, began briefing the Pentagon on a lighter, smaller ICBM that they said could be deployed by 1986. In 1983 the Scowcroft Commission endorsed Midgetman as a supplement to the MX, not an alternative. The Commission recommended basing single-warhead Midgetmen in mobile launchers as well as in dispersed, hardened silos. When combined with silo-based, multiple-warhead MXs, the Commission reasoned, Midgetman would complicate any Soviet plans for attack.

The survivability of the missile stems from proposals to base some or all of the missiles in truck-like vehicles that its proponents say will make it hard to track down. But Bob Sherman, defense consultant for Representatives Les AuCoin, Tom Downey and Bob Carr, points out that "Soviet satellites can see everything in the kind of mild, dry, clear weather" required for constant year-round mobility. The 46 military bases the Pentagon named in April as possible Midgetman sites fit this description.

According to Sherman, satellite-guided warheads can target even a Midgetman-on-the-go. And even without satellite technology, the Soviets could wipe out moving Midgetmen "just by launching most of their large SS-18s." Such a nuclear barrage could easily sweep the areas to which Midgetman will be confined.

Crucial to Midgetman's mobility is its weight. Congress set a limit of 33,000 pounds on the weapon when the first funds—$354 million—were authorized for its research and development in 1983. But this past May, the Senate Armed Services Committee questioned whether the weight constraint is worth the increased cost and reduced effectiveness it engenders. Midgetman's proposed guidance system, which is similar to the advanced inertial reference sphere (AIRS) that guides the highly-accurate MX, is quite costly in its "midget" form.



Midgetman missile: Fatally flawed?

Senate Armed Services Committee member Pete Wilson has said he would consider forgoing the weight constraint and Midgetman's mobility for a bigger missile with more warheads, a highly-accurate guidance system like AIRS, and penetration aids to help it evade defenses. Bob Sherman compares this approach to that of "American car makers who say that if they have to make a small car, they're going to make the *biggest* damn small car anyone has ever seen."

Senator Wilson was delighted with a startling General Accounting Office (GAO) report released in mid-July. It concluded that the Midgetman presently on the drawing board is too small to deliver its payload to many Soviet targets. This means a change in design, the GAO said, or basing the missile in the northwest, not southwest, United States.

The GAO also cited a number of "significant" technical and operational problems. It estimated, for example, that 20,000 workers would be needed to operate, maintain and guard a dispersed force of 500 mobile missiles—and that securing the land needed for the project (4000 to 8000 square miles) would be "challenging and time-consuming."

The Air Force has not yet decided whether Midgetman will be based in the much-debated mobile launchers, or in superhard, stationary silos (like the MX) or a combination of the two. In fact, the Air Force has put off a lot of decisions concerning Midgetman. In 1983, Richard Garwin, IBM fellow at the Thomas J. Watson Research Center and a former member of the Pentagon's Defense Science Board, testified before the Scowcroft Commission that 1000 Midgetmen could be had for less than $10 billion and that deployment could start in 1987 and end in 1989. Instead, flight testing of the missile won't start until 1988; deployment won't begin until 1992. And now the Congressional Budget Office says the Air Force's plans for Midgetman will cost $107 billion. Jeff Duncan, former staff consultant for the House Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, says that contractors have accused the Air Force of holding back the Midgetman and exaggerating its cost, to help the cause of the MX.

According to Laurie Duker of SANE, the seeds of grass-roots opposition to the Midgetman have already been planted in Wyoming and Utah by the anti-MX group, Western Solidarity. Several western states, which gave birth to the anti-MX campaign, have sites on the Pentagon's list of possible Midgetman bases. Michael Ferber, with the Coalition for A New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C., said a regional campaign against the basing plan is a natural way for opposition to start because "the proposal to make Midgetman mobile is really bizarre. They're talking about vehicles [carrying nuclear weapons] being driven around the desert by Army lieutenants. I can just see [cartoonist] Herblock sharpening his crayon now." Ed Glennon of SANE says that, "proposals to transport the Midgetman on public highways in times of crisis" will also rile the public.

Duker is cautiously optimistic. "As Congress searches for places to pare costs and cut the deficit," she says, "the Midgetman will be a big target." While no legislators are leading the anti-Midgetman crusade yet, Duker says that "some swing votes were cast for the MX because legislators realize that Midgetman would be far too expensive to support later."

The requested 1985 funding for Midgetman is $465 million. The projected 1986 amount is $724.5 million. (The recent House-Senate budget conference *added* $100 million to the Administration's request.) Duker speaks for many activists when she says she would "love to see an amendment on the next authorization bill cutting Midgetman." She doesn't think that's likely, but the public debate over Midgetman's flaws and costs is bound to grow.

—Beth Jackendoff

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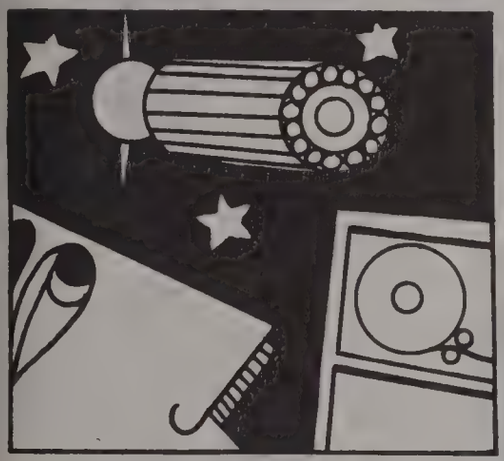
Star Struck

Tracking Space Weapons

A leading computer software researcher—and sometime weapons systems developer—resigned recently from an official Star Wars advisory panel, adding his voice to a growing number of computer professionals who see the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) as another example of misplaced faith in the infallibility of the silicon chip.



The scientist, David Lorge Parnas, a U.S. citizen who teaches at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, and serves as a consultant to the Office of Naval Reseach in Washington, D.C. told NUCLEAR TIMES that a comprehensive Star Wars shield is an impossibility because the computer theory behind it is nonexistent.

Comparing SDI with the Manhattan Project is faulty, he said, not only because SDI will be subject to Soviet technological innovation, but also because the Manhattan Project grew out of well-founded theory and experiments conducted years earlier.

Computer software practice and theory suggests that every complex software program, even one much simpler than that required by SDI, is inherently flawed. There is no way—even if testing in a nuclear war were possible (a big if)—for software engineers ever to prove that the flaws had been removed from the system. Parnas argues this point in a series of position papers he submitted to the SDI office on June 28, along with his resignation from the Panel on Computing Support of Battle Management. (The resignation was costly; Parnas was being paid $1000-a-day for his work.)

"Imagine President Reagan woke up one morning and decided he wanted to build a rocket faster than light—the rocket could deliver a nuclear warhead to the Soviet Union before it could even be seen," says Parnas. "And so he creates a Faster than Light Initiative. People would make the same arguments in favor of FLI-sponsored research that they are now making for SDI work: We have to research the problem before we can say if it will work; and wouldn't it be fun to try and build one?"

Parnas, a 44-year-old father of two, builds real-time (fast response) software for U.S. fighter planes, the kind of software that would be needed if our weapons were to attack Soviet missiles in their most-vulnerable boost phase (which only lasts some 200 seconds). He is also considered the father of "specification of system design," a field of software research, which probably led to his presence on the SDI panel.

In one of his briefing papers, Parnas charges that the SDI office at the Pentagon "is a typical organization of technocrats. It is so involved in advocacy of the program that it cannot judge the quality of the research involved." And he argues that all of the members of the SDI panel on battle management computing "stand to profit from continuation of the program."

Parnas' briefing papers are being distributed by Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility (P.O. Box 717, Palo Alto, CA 94303), headed by Gary Chapman, which traces its roots back to computer scientists who opposed the Safeguard and Sentinel antiballistic missile (ABM) systems. Those systems led to the development of what was then the most complicated software extant, says Chapman, and no one had any assurance that it would actually work either. Chapman's group has released a study on the issue of computer fallibility. *Software Engineering Notes*, a quarterly edited by Stanford's Dr. Peter Neuman, is another source of information on significant software glitches.

* * *

As the invaluable, lengthy (nearly 400-page) discussion of SDI in the special spring and summer issues of *Daedalus* makes clear, the efficacy of SDI depends on rapid, automated communications and control systems (command problems having presumably been pre-programmed away). As such it is perhaps better to compare SDI not to the A-bomb, but to what the A-bomb has led to: A complex system of vertical and horizontal proliferation of tens of thousands of warheads worldwide—a system which has witnessed the steady degradation of U.S. national security since the fall of Japan.

Both *Daedalus* issues—the first is the stronger of the two—discuss the pros and cons of SDI, and every aspect of the issue from the history of ballistic missile defense (BMD) to the relationships of BMD to antisatellite (ASAT) technology, and from SDI's effects on NATO and Australia to its effects on the Soviets. (*Daedalus* is published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.) Among the authors: Hans Bethe, Richard Garwin, Herbert York. Some of the most revealing articles are written by supporters of SDI, such as Charles Zraket, a Pentagon consultant who dances around the issue of software fallibility, calling it SDI's "greatest challenge."

Gerold Yonas, now chief scientist for the SDI, points to an issue underlying the SDI question that looms even larger than computer fallibility. "The political institutions with rapidly evolving technology," he writes, "may prove to be the most difficult and crucial challenge to humanity's long-term survival." SDI would lead to automated nuclear warfighting controlled by flawed computer programs, with scientific innovation superceding rational national security—another case of technology leading the technocrats.

—Douglas Lavin

> "I am quite certain that you will be able to find software experts who disagree with my conclusions. For many, the project offers a source of funding, funding that will enrich some personally, while offering others new and generous support for their personal research projects. During the first sittings of our panel, I could see the dollar figures dazzling everyone involved. Almost everyone that I know within the military industrial complex sees in the SDI a new 'pot of gold' just waiting to be tapped.
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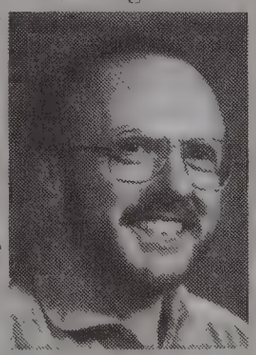
> 
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> "For others the project offers an unending set of technological puzzles that are fun to work on; such problems are exciting and challenging whether or not the work ever produces useful results. Almost every software expert that I know entered the field because they enjoy this kind of challenge. Several of the speakers at the first meeting of our panel could not hide their delight at the unbounded set of technical challenges implicit in the unattainable goals of the project.
>
> "I can tell you, as one who likes both money and technical challenges, that these temptations are very hard to resist. You will find it very hard to find unbiased expert opinions on this issue."
>
> **—From David L. Parnas' June 28, 1985 letter of resignation, submitted to James H. Offut, assistant director of the SDI Organization**

ILLUSTRATION BY RICHARD BACKER
PHOTO COURTESY OF UNIV. OF VICTORIA, AV/TV PHOTOGRAPHY

BY BETSY TAYLOR

Learning Electoral Lessons

The movement may have raised more money, mobilized more people, and taken more political risks in 1984 than in any recent election year. But with few exceptions, peace activists have failed to review their 1984 electoral strategies. Fundamental questions about tactics and political impact have been overlooked. Our limited accountability and poor management practices stem largely from a chronic shortage of time for reflection.

As another election year rapidly approaches, it is critical to pause, clarify objectives and design electoral programs based on a thorough analysis of lessons learned in 1984.

There are almost 20 hawkish senators up for reelection in 1986. "The peace movement can get back on the map, enhance its credibility, and become enticing for 1988 presidential hopefuls if it decisively influences just one or two of these races," argues Tamera Stanton, former national director of environmental and nuclear freeze coordination for the Mondale campaign. Plans are already underway to do just that. But activists should consider a few fundamental questions and suggestions about strategy while preparing for the tough 1986 campaigns.

Movement support helped Rep. Ed Markey win tough '84 primary race in Massachusetts

EXAMINING OUR STRENGTHS

The movement set extraordinary goals for 1984. It achieved less than it hoped for but discovered its remarkable capacity to raise money, mobilize volunteers and influence congressional elections.

MONEY: Cash flowed in 1984. The peace PACs collectively raised over $6 million. Every peace PAC that functioned in 1982 more than doubled its budget in 1984.

Too frequently, the analysis stops here. The movement must consider the *net* financial and political gain of its fundraising programs if it hopes to capitalize on this tremendous strength in 1986. How much time and money were spent raising money in 1984? Was this the most effective use of our resources? Was the money raised well spent?

These questions apply to all the peace PACs but especially to Freeze Voter, which raised a phenomenal amount of money but spent a small fraction of it to help elect candidates directly. The national Freeze Voter raised $1,453,000 and spent $1,338,000 during the 1984 elections. Of this, just $17,000 was given to congressional candidates, $17,000 was given to state Freeze Voter PACs for field programs, and $26,000 was disbursed as independent expenditures for candidates. The remaining 96 percent of Freeze Voter's budget went to maintain national office operations, organize activities in the field, and identify freeze voters.

John Ayers, a member of Representative Lane Evans' staff, thought a local Freeze Voter endorsement would translate into a national Freeze Voter cash contribution. "I had heard that national Freeze Voter was raising lots of money on the west coast," Ayers recalls. "When I learned that none of it was going directly to candidates I couldn't believe it!"

By comparison, the Council for a Livable World's PeacePAC raised approximately $1.8 million and gave over $1 million in direct support of candidates. SANE PAC raised $200,000 and gave approximately $160,000 to support candidates. WAND PAC raised about $60,000, of which $58,000 went to support candidates.

Freeze Voter should assess how 96 percent of its budget was spent. Did these funds strengthen the movement, enhance the visibility of the freeze issue and indirectly assist candidates? Given the human and financial resources at stake, Freeze Voter needs to carefully review its 1984 expenditures before deciding whether to alter its strategy in 1986. Melinda McLaughlin, national Freeze Voter president, reports that such a review is underway.

Abram Claude, former Massachusetts Freeze Voter executive director, suggests a new approach to grass-roots electoral fundraising for 1986: "We should follow the lead of the Council for a Livable World. Grass-roots canvassers, phone bankers and house party hosts should raise some money that will go *directly* to candidates." Claude adds that each state Freeze Voter group could "adopt" one 1986 Senate candidate in another state and raise some portion of its funds directly for him or her.

VOLUNTEERS: Freeze Voter, WAND PAC and SANE PAC recruited, trained, and utilized thousands of volunteers in 1984. Few American institutions or issue groups can activate more people in support of their cause. In order to capitalize on this asset, we must assess how to nurture and maintain these citizen volunteers.

We must also determine which volunteer and field programs were most effective. Several campaign managers report a preference for volunteers and field staff who work *directly* under their supervision, rather than under the direction of

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the national or state SANE, WAND, or Freeze Voter offices. In some cases, campaign managers for some of the movement's most favored candidates didn't know what local peace group volunteers had contributed when they worked outside the candidate's campaign. Some managers urge groups not to send field organizers into a campaign for less than two weeks. Those who spent a month or more working directly for candidates, such as Freeze Corps volunteers and several SANE organizers, became senior staff members in some campaigns.

Representative Lane Evans' manager, Ken Brock, urges the groups to tailor their 1986 programs to the special needs of each candidate. "Standardized programs such as a nationally coordinated canvass don't necessarily make sense for congressional races," suggests Brock.

INFLUENCING CANDIDATES: Campaign managers for several candidates credit the peace groups for assuring their victories. And these candidates, since last November, have demonstrated their allegiance to the peace movement in both words and actions, proving that electoral work does have legislative payoff. John Kerry, for example, fought to get on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee where he "has been extremely helpful to the Freeze Campaign," says freeze lobbyist Pat Harmon. Kerry also proposed a spending freeze on Star Wars and offered an ASAT moratorium.

Representative Terry Bruce, the only endorsed challenger to upset a hawkish incumbent, served as the freshman whip on the MX vote. "He got all the Democratic freshmen but one to vote against the MX," reports Bruce staffer Larry Clinton. During his primary Bruce was pro-MX. Local freeze activists brought in experts to brief him and he became a convert for the cause. With encouragement from Illinois freeze activists, he recently signed on to the comprehensive freeze bill.

Paul Simon has offered a "negotiators pause" resolution, hired a pro-freeze arms expert for his Senate staff, and helped lead the fight against SDI in the Senate.

ASSESSING OUR WEAKNESSES

As newcomers to electoral politics, the peace PACs were destined to make a few mistakes and miss some opportunities. Some of these can be easily remedied in 1986. Others require serious analysis and review.

MEDIA: Perhaps the most striking missed opportunity in 1984 was the movement's failure to enhance its visibility. Many freeze sympathizers in the general public have concluded that the organized effort to halt the arms race fizzled sometime in 1983. Recent commentaries in the *Wash-*

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ington Post, *Boston Globe*, and *Wall Street Journal* have announced that the freeze died on November 6, 1984 when Mondale lost by a landslide. People don't know about the outpouring of money and human effort for congressional candidates.

This negative perception is partly due to external factors beyond the groups' influence. The national media chose to cover the presidential race, where the movement was least influential.

But the fault doesn't rest solely with the press corps. "At no time did the national groups sit down and plan an overall media strategy," says Richard Pollock, manager of the Peace Media Project. "In fact, several of the group leaders appear to be afraid of reporters and aren't sure what constitutes 'news'."

Movement leaders in Washington, D.C. and the states are working to address this shortcoming. A few months ago, the northern California Freeze Campaign decided to place a high priority on media relations. Since then "we've had remarkable success," reports northern California Freeze Chairperson Susan Strong. "We regularly call reporters, stage events, and get our spokespeople on television. When California Freeze Voter works for Alan Cranston next year, you can be sure the media will know about our efforts."

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE: From the beginning, the odds against installing a genuine freeze supporter in the White House seemed almost insurmountable. Still, the results of the presidential race were demoralizing. Needless to say, the movement was not a potent political force in the general election.

The peace movement must decide how to prepare for the 1988 presidential race. Wayne Jaquith, former Lawyers Alliance director and Mondale staff liaison for the freeze, urges the peace PACs to "get involved early. It took me months to convince the Mondale campaign to hire a full-time person to work with the peace movement. We should try to have someone on the staff of each presidential campaign by 1987."

Paul Tully, Mondale political director, suggests that the movement might accomplish more in 1988 if it remembers it can't compete as a power broker in Washington, D.C. but it *can* wield power in key states and cities, especially where the Democratic party is very weak. "Some movement leaders [in '84] forgot the real source of their power," Tully says. "They preferred to hobnob with the pols in Washington and often blocked our access to individual contacts in the field. WAND PAC was the notable exception to this tendency. Peace PACs can influence presidential campaigns by delivering troops in the field, not by making promises in Washington, D.C.," says Tully, who now runs Senator Kennedy's PAC.

REPUBLICANS: The antinuclear PACs decided early on to be bipartisan. This decision reinforced the movement's mainstream appeal and helped it gain acceptance with the media and Congress. But in 1984, some electoral misjudgments led to sour relationships with Republican allies.

In Massachusetts, Freeze Voter endorsed Democrat Mary Wentworth rather than Republican freeze leader Silvio Conte. (SANE and Council for a Livable World stuck with Conte.) "Conte is still angry and refuses to support our comprehensive test ban or comprehensive freeze bill," says Pat Harmon. The Iowa Nuclear Freeze Campaign made a dual endorsement of Republican freeze leader Jim Leach and his Democratic challenger, Kevin Ready. According to one member of Leach's staff, the Congressman was hurt by this lack of support. Leach was a very vocal advocate for the freeze in 1983 and at the Republican National Convention. He is not currently a cosponsor on the comprehensive freeze bill. Freeze lobbyist Harmon claims that "Leach's cool response stems from the 1984 endorsement mistake. If he ultimately signs on to our bill, he won't be a floor leader like he was in 1983."

Similar problems arose in Oregon when activists split over whether to support incumbent Senator Mark Hatfield or Democratic challenger Margie Hendriksen. Freeze Voter endorsed Hatfield despite friction at the local level. WAND PAC, especially supportive of women candidates, offered no endorsement. As a result, Hatfield holds a grudge against Helen Caldicott and refuses to meet with her, notes a high-level WAND staff member.

This problem is more striking for PACs such as Freeze Voter, WAND, and SANE, which must develop consensus with their grass-roots base on endorsements. But seasoned electoral operator Jerome Grossman, president of the Council for a Livable World, stresses that peace groups should "never trade in an old proven friend for a new one who makes promises. Stick with incumbents if they've done a good job, especially if they're Republicans who have taken political risks for you."

LOOKING AHEAD

Some questions about 1986 strategy are so fundamental that they're frequently overlooked.

Is the movement's primary goal still the achievement of a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze? The original freeze campaign had a five-year time line designed to achieve a halt to the arms race in 1985 or 1986. The 1984 elections

PAC-ing A Punch

Applying some of the lessons of 1984, a number of antinuclear PACs have already started laying the groundwork for 1986.

This time around **SANE PAC** hopes to concentrate more on electing challengers than protecting incumbents (a large part of its strategy in 1984). "We are much more sophisticated in targeting," says SANE Political Director Laurie Duker. Duker says that SANE will be doing more precinct organizing, will start earlier, and will work more closely with the Democratic Party, particularly on Senate races. SANE is already at work in Pennsylvania, and will be starting soon in North Carolina and Florida.

Council for a Livable World's **PeacePAC** expects to raise $2 million for candidates. Three "scouts" have been sent to key states to meet with candidates, and PeacePAC has already made its first endorsement: Bob Edgar for senator of Pennsylvania (in a race against Republican Arlen Specter). Jerome Grossman, Council president, says that his PAC can make a big difference in smaller states where campaigns are not so costly, pointing to races next year in the Dakotas and Vermont (where PeacePAC "will be going all-out for Senator Patrick Leahy"). Grossman refers to "vulnerable" hawkish incumbents in Washington, Alaska, Wisconsin, Georgia, Alabama and New York but says that PeacePAC has dropped its catchy "Doomsday Dozen" hit list. "We have always been uncomfortable with negative campaigns," he explains.

WAND PAC will again focus on voter registration and educational resources but will also endorse candidates. Helen Caldicott promises to return from her sojourn in Australia to take an active role. The PAC is also promoting its "200 by 2000" plan—an effort to elect 200 women to Congress within 15 years.

"We will get involved earlier, we will begin raising money earlier, our staff will start work earlier," says Chip Reynolds, director of **Freeze Voter**, which enlisted 25,000 volunteers in 41 states in '84. Reynolds estimates that Freeze Voter will have "maximum involvement" in 10 to 12 states, and concentrate on about 10 Senate races and 25 to 30 House races overall.

—Christopher Phelps

were pivotal to this strategy. We didn't succeed. Should we adjust our goal, our time line, or both?

Elections are opportunities for advancing political goals. In 1983 and 1984, the freeze movement (which initially included all the major peace groups, not just the Freeze Campaign) began to develop a blurred goal and message. Did we want the quick freeze, a test ban, or a comprehensive freeze? Candidates and the public were confused. In 1986, the peace groups should strive to have a single, overriding, collective political goal. This will be our message to the public and litmus test for candidates.

What's more important in 1986: Electing pro-movement candidates or getting all candidates to raise movement issues in their campaigns? Confusion about this led to some conflict with candidates in 1984. Both of these goals are important but sometimes they come into conflict. David Axelrod, campaign manager for Paul Simon, recalls: "We decided not to emphasize the freeze issue because Percy was trying to attack Simon as a weak liberal. When we decided to downplay the freeze, the peace activists were furious. Some called to say they hated us. Others quit volunteering. The peace movement has to decide what it wants in 1986."

Can legislative and electoral programs be more closely linked? The overriding goal of electoral work is the eventual adoption of good legislation and policy. This objective will be achieved more readily if the personal relationships and political agreements established between candidates and their supporters during the electoral season are sustained during off-election years. "You'll have more influence if those who work on a tough electoral fight are the same individuals who call to lobby for a piece of legislation," says Bob Crane, aide for Representative Les AuCoin. "You become close to people that you've gone through all the battles with."

Which programs and activities strengthen our organizations for the long haul? All of the people-oriented PACs (WAND, SANE, and Freeze Voter) are dedicated to building the peace movement. Some peace activists suggest that "movement building" is more important than electing candidates, implying that electoral work weakens the movement. What activities invigorate people and move them to volunteer, give money and get involved? Which programs result in meaningful fundraising lists? Which attract and sustain volunteers?

In answering these questions, we need to consult one another. Bob Stein, former Illinois Freeze Voter director, reports that "grass-roots programs such as the canvass and houseparties brought in new people who haven't gone away. We're stronger and more sophisticated now." But in Kentucky, long-time freeze activist Pat McCullough says, "I have mixed feelings about the grass-roots programs we conducted last year. We did it all and I think we over-extended ourselves. It's hard to know if our programs helped [losing senate candidate] Walter Huddleston or not."

Can peace PACs recruit more viable candidates worth working for? Many activists remain ambivalent about electoral politics because they can't get motivated to work for mediocre candidates. This was particularly prevalent in last year's presidential race. Congressman Bob Edgar suggests that the groups take steps to find progressive candidates.

"Strong peace groups should join with environmentalists and convene conferences behind closed doors," Edgar argues. "They should invite the handful of federal and state elected officials who are truly accountable to them. Together, the officials and activists should discuss how to build the equivalent of a shadow political party in their respective states with the goal of electing several dedicated people to the House and Senate. In many states this shouldn't be too difficult since the Democratic party is close to nonexistent."

In less than five months, peace activists will need to crank up in support of a few targeted Senate and House candidates. The Senate races already appear difficult: Several viable challengers are in states such as South Dakota, Idaho, and Florida, where peace groups are dedicated but small in number. Senate races in Pennsylvania, New York, California, Vermont and elsewhere may be more promising. But before the 1986 priority targets are finalized and programs designed the movement must clarify its objectives and tactics based on an analysis of 1984 activities.

"Tell those peace activists to make a commitment for the long haul," declares former congressman and freeze advocate William Ratchford of Connecticut, who lost to Reagan's coattails in 1984. "Tell them to hang in there and not fold up the tent. The core of good officials needs their support. If they [activists] keep learning from their mistakes and start pacing themselves, they will halt this arms race by the end of the decade." □

Betsy Taylor was director of fundraising for Freeze Voter '84. She is currently writing a report on the lessons of the 1984 election, for which she has conducted over 40 interviews.

Cash Registers

A valuable resource for many groups who take part in voter registration and voter education projects is now available. *Expanding Voter Participation* (available for $15 from Interface, 251 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10010), is an exhaustive assessment of nonpartisan 1984 efforts, such as Human Serve, Project Vote, and many others. It looks at accomplishments (2 to 2.5 million new voters) and cost-effectiveness (it cost $3 to $5 to register each one), and makes many proposals for changes in 1986, such as a greater emphasis on "educating" new registrants.

To affect '88 presidential race movement will have to "get involved earlier"

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

CONSENSUS TAKERS

Seeking A Common Denominator

The staff at Beyond War headquarters in Palo Alto, California, do not keep track of the number of people who attend their sessions. But in the last year, Beyond War's newsletter circulation jumped from 2000 to 10,000. And the number of volunteers from across the country who attended the group's National Leadership Seminar increased from 60 to 250.

That's good news for a three-year-old organization that still perplexes many people, especially those with backgrounds in political activism who expect to work with specific policy initiatives. "My big problem with them," says Anne Cahn, executive director of the Committee for National Security in Washington, D.C., "is that there is no substance, no concrete steps for *going* beyond war." Gloria Duffy, a Soviet specialist in San Francisco, California, expresses a similar frustration. "I'm not used to their very open-ended approach to things," she says. "They never bring up a bottom line on anything."

But Beyond War members counter that education—the thrust of their work—is a concrete step. "If you ask, 'what's our agenda?'" says David Parr, who with his wife, Nikki, is involved in grass-roots organizing for the group, "it's that people start to realize that we live on one planet, we have one life-support system, we breathe the same air and drink the same water." Nikki Parr adds, "We see what we do as *ahead* of the political process. In time we will enact laws and treaties, but right now we're building nationwide agreement, and that comes before legislation."

Two other relatively new groups—Project Victory and Search for Common Ground, both based in Washington, D.C.—have joined Beyond War in adopting this unconventional, politically soft-core approach. They force activists to deal with ambiguity, in that none of the groups advocate specific political policies. They offer no answers, no concrete vision of the future. They do not concentrate on congressional lobbying—they lobby, more ambitiously, to change the way in which people think.

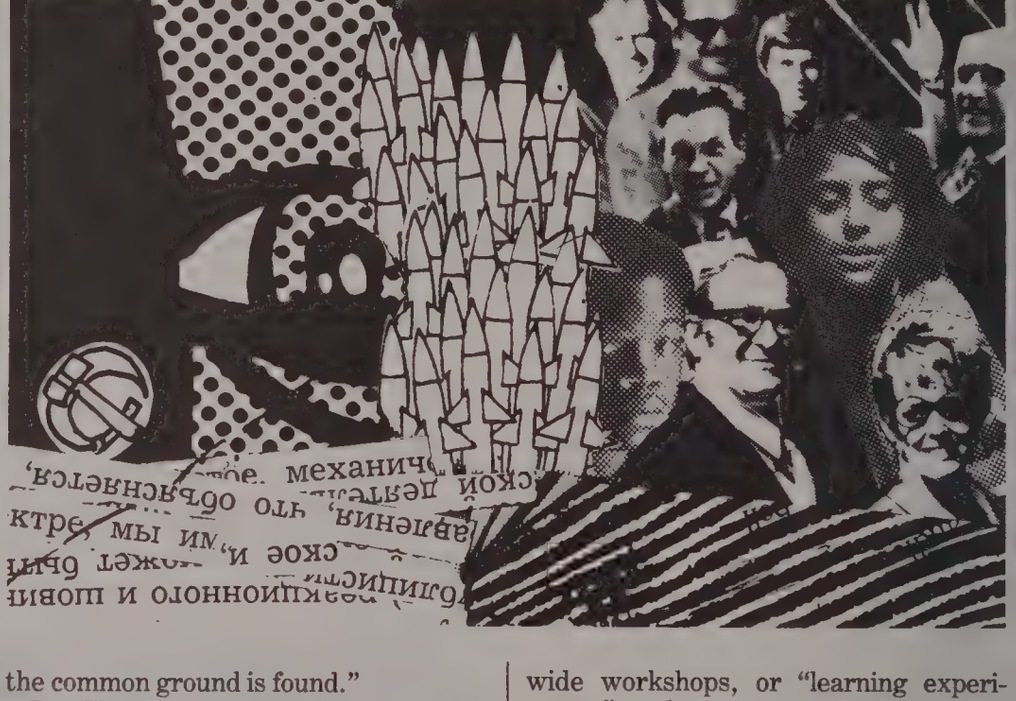
Tony Wagner, executive director of Educators for Social Responsibility in Cambridge, Massachusetts, feels that these groups are filling a gap in the movement—but expresses some common reservations about where they're headed. "I think that what is needed now is a secular spirituality—a common concern, a reverence for life that nurtures hope and compassion," Wagner says. "These groups are striving to create a world in which people can develop this capacity. The only problem is that they're struggling with an idea to find common ground, without a clear sense of what to do once the common ground is found."

But Theo Brown, executive director of Project Victory, argues: "Our point of view is about *process*—how to get to the answer. We're pushing something more radical than an answer. We're saying, 'Hey, there's got to be a qualitative jump in the level of human communication and interaction. We have got to learn to listen to one another before any national consensus on policy can come about.' Otherwise, it's garbage in and garbage out."

VICTORY GARDEN

Brown, former director of the now-defunct group Ground Zero, offers a rigorous criticism of policy-oriented antinuclear activism. In his view, such activism suffers from serious defects, among them: An overly polemical style, a negative message (we're all going to die), and the involvement of too few people.

With the launching of Project Victory, dedicated to finding a consensus on international relations that will embody the wisdom of both the right and the left, Brown and a core group of four others—including psychiatrists Gary Lapid and Craig Schindler—will try to overcome these problems. The group plans to bring out a book, tentatively subtitled "A New Meaning of Victory in the Nuclear Age," at the end of the year. But the mainstay of its work will lie in conducting nation-wide workshops, or "learning experiences," on the grass-roots level.



The current format of these workshops, arrived at after three years of preparation and pilot programs, is divided into three parts: Where we are now (divided); where we must go (to a clear purpose and national unity); and how we can get there (individual effort at communication). Brown and other Project Victory organizers use video clips on both the dangers of nuclear war and the Soviet threat. The group also uses a clip from *The Defiant Ones*, which features Sydney Poitier and Tony Curtis as escaped prisoners, shackled together, who must learn to cooperate to survive.

The workshops also rely on role playing, where participants are asked to act out the side of the national security debate that they do not hold. And at the end of each session, Brown says, "we challenge people to incorporate what they've

ILLUSTRATION BY MAUREEN O'BRIEN

learned about communication into their everyday lives. And we tell them if they want, we will help them, through a support mechanism of mailings and calls, to practice what they've learned." This supportive effect, Brown says, will be somewhat akin to that of Alcoholics Anonymous or church groups.

Given Brown's background (he holds a Masters in Divinity from Duke University), and the input of psychiatrists Lapid and Schindler, it's not surprising that the workshops are influenced by tenets of humanistic psychology. Ellen Swanberg, a Project Victory organizer who is involved with the teachings of Carl Rogers, a former est leader, sees a carry-over from the so-called "human potential" movement to Project Victory. Both, according to Swanberg, foster an idea of dialogue as a healing process.

One Project Victory participant is Katy Sears-Williams, a city council member in Santa Cruz. "I'm a Republican," says Williams, and in the predominantly progressive Santa Cruz City Council, as well as in the local peace community, Williams feels this often means she is ostracized. "So much of the peace movement is very warlike," comments Williams. By contrast, she says, since the emphasis was on listening and enhanced communication—and since no one was allowed to attack anyone else's political stance—the Project Victory meeting produced a genuine feeling of "working for peace in a peaceful way."

Does such rapprochement with the "other side" inevitably change political views? Theo Brown, an emigre from the "dove camp," no longer considers himself a "classic liberal." Kimberly Carter, another of the group's primary organizers, feels she has become much more "middle of the road." Carol Beaumont, who works both with Project Victory and Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, says she feels torn. "I still feel much more attached to a disarmament position," she says. But she realizes now that she must deal with the other side of the equation—the fear many Americans have of the Soviets.

Brown predicts that it will take several years to reach the as yet unknown consensus. "Then we'll have to sustain it for a decade, at least," he says, "before it filters its way into politics. The politicians are usually the last ones to get things, anyway."

SEARCH FOR TOMORROW

Since its inception over three years ago, Search for Common Ground (SCG) has been in the business of bringing together people on opposite sides of the national security issue. Unlike Project Victory, however, which aims at reaching America's grass roots, SCG concentrates on gathering together people—usually policy-makers—of some prominence or influence. Over the last year, SCG has conducted workshops in Ottawa for members of the Canadian national security establishment and in Los Angeles for attendees at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Like Theo Brown, John Marks, the executive director of SCG and coauthor of the bestselling book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, has a background in left-liberal Washington, D.C. politics. After spending half a career in what he calls "confrontational" or "reactive" politics, Marks says he wanted to start "doing a more positive kind of politics, of building a new system, rather than tearing down the old."

Since then, the focus of Marks' work has been building bridges between longtime enemies. His first task was gaining credibility with the right wing. SCG newsletters now routinely contain a roster of conservative individuals and organizations who have become involved with the group, such as former CIA Deputy Director Ray Cline and Thomas Krebs, former research director of High Frontier.

One of Marks' new conservative allies is Lawrence Chickering, executive director for the Institute for Contemporary Studies (ICS), which is Ronald Reagan's old California think tank. Last winter, ICS, *Harper's Magazine* and SCG cosponsored a conference in Washington, D.C., which brought together pairs of famous antagonists, not to debate their disagreements, but to elucidate their areas of agreement.

About the cosponsored event, Chickering says, "One of the things I found exciting was that if you take people outside the highly-charged atmosphere of Washington politics, and remove them from the media, people are able to get together and express much greater understanding of each other's points of view . . . I think the country would be much better off if the best of each side's values are allowed to come to the forefront."

Structured according to a standard format of guest speakers and an observing audience, the ICS/SCG conference was quite different from many of the intensely participatory workshops that SCG has sponsored in the past. These workshops have been experimental and, to a degree, controversial.

One participant who attended a workshop about a year ago is journalist Jonathan Kwitny, author of *Endless Enemies*. Noting undertones of est-ian consciousness-raising at the workshop, Kwitny says that SCG is "not my kind of organization. I don't feel the benefit from sitting around and talking about 'em-

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powerment.'" But Kwitny is also quick to add that if "John [Marks] can succeed this way, then more power to him."

In addition to workshops, SCG acts as what Marks calls an "entrepreneur" for various projects. The group, for example, helped launch Business Executives for National Security and the children's play *Peace Child.* Now SCG is starting a Citizens' Action Project (CAP) to lobby for noncontroversial issues, such as joint US/USSR efforts in crisis control, famine relief and citizen exchanges. "If the superpowers work on common problems," says Marks, "they will begin to move away from confrontation."

Considering their compatible strategies, it's not surprising that Marks and Project Victory's Theo Brown are discussing the possibility of cosponsoring a major nationwide event—focusing on the East/West question—tentatively slated for next spring. "If it happens, it'll be a kind of 'American Dialogue Day,'" says Marks.

THE GREAT BEYOND?

Unlike Search for Common Ground and Project Victory, which studiously avoid espousing any single message, Beyond War in Palo Alto is founded on one: Because of nuclear technology, war now contains the threat of human extinction, and is therefore obsolete. The world is beyond war.

According to the group's literature, research has shown that when five percent of a society accepts a new idea, it becomes "embedded" in the population. When the idea reaches 20 percent of the people, it becomes unstoppable. "Once you build an agreement among individuals that war has become obsolete, they must go and communicate that knowledge to others," says Ruth Hodges, the group's media director. "We don't say, 'here's the recipe' for a peaceful world. But we give people certain principles—like, all of life is interdependent. After a time, these principles will grab hold."

The group sponsors a variety of projects, including the annual Beyond War Award ceremony. On or around September 8 this year, public television stations across the country will air "The Beyond War Spacebridge," which documents members of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War receiving the award last winter. The one-hour show features a two-way satellite link between audiences in Moscow and San Francisco.

The main thrust of Beyond War work, however, is an intensive educational campaign. When it began three years ago, as an offshoot of the Creative Initiative Foundation in Palo Alto (which was established in the early 1960s by Stanford University faculty), Beyond War concentrated its work in California. For the past two years, 17 couples, most of them from California and all of them volunteers, fanned out to 11 target states —including Colorado, Georgia and Massachusetts—to spread the word of Beyond War. (Volunteers are also at work in six foreign countries.) The majority of these missionaries are professionals who have arranged some kind of work leave.

One of this year's batch of roving couples is David and Nikki Parr. David recently sold his electronics supply business and is planning to devote the next three years of his life to Beyond War. Nikki, who is not employed, has clocked 40,000 miles as a traveling saleswomen for the group in California over the last year. Now the couple is moving to Wisconsin to begin statewide work there.

The organizing method of the Beyond War Campaign resembles a home-merchandising scheme. "We work primarily in living rooms," says David Parr. Beyond War organizers, or "communicators," conduct a series of introductory sessions working up to an "orientation" where guests are prepared to become communicators—ambassadors of the Beyond War message who spread the word through their peer networks.

The group has reached hundreds of businesses, religious groups, civic organizations and clubs through its introductory presentation. "They fill up hotel ballrooms with secretaries and middle management people from companies all over the Bay area," says Gloria Duffy, referring to the group's success in California.

Like Project Victory and Search for Common Ground, Beyond War shuns any overt political ties. But many in the antinuclear community regard Beyond War as a valuable service. "Our work to mobilize more politically-involved people has to be grounded upon the fundamental educational and consciousness-raising work that groups like Beyond War do," says David Cortright, executive director of SANE in Washington, D.C. "I see our two efforts as very complementary."

But while Beyond War may complement the work of antinuclear activists, many are hesitant about what they see as the "missionary zeal" and "religiosity" of an outfit that seeks to "orient" people's thinking. "They have a cultish aspect," says one observer, "in that they all say the same thing and stick with their own method."

But, as Gloria Duffy points out, "They turn out people who wouldn't remotely consider going to a freeze meeting. In a way I think that they may do it where the rest of us never will, in terms of reaching masses of Americans." **—Corinna Gardner**

Notes From Abroad

The bombs that killed **Greenpeace** photographer Fernando Pereira and sank the flagship *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland harbor did not cut short the group's Pacific campaign. The Greenpeace flotilla, now led by the *Vega*, sailed the difficult, stormy passage to Mururoa to protest French nuclear testing. After that, the ships continued to Rarotonga, the site of this year's Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Forum held on August 2.

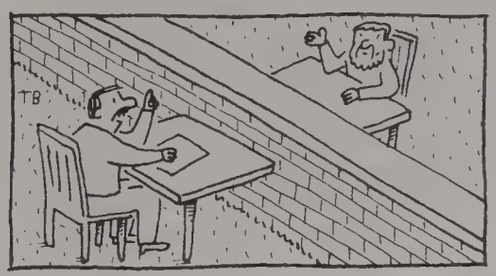
Funds have been established for Pereira's family and for a new vessel. In **New Zealand**, thousands of dollars have been collected on the street. Fraser Colman, a New Zealand cabinet minister who went into the French nuclear test zone 10 years ago on a government sponsored frigate, said he would go again.

On July 24, a French-speaking couple, Alain Jacques Turenga and Sophie Clair Frederika Turenga, were arrested by Auckland police and charged with murder, arson and conspiracy to commit arson. Arrest warrants were also issued for three crew members of the yacht *Ouvrea*, which was seen lingering around the *Rainbow Warrior* prior to the bombing. The Turengas, French radio reported in mid-August, had ties to the French military and were sent to New Zealand to gather information on the Greenpeace flotilla.

• About 1200 people attended **END's** fourth annual convention in Amsterdam in July. As at last year's convention, East-West dialogue was an important focus, and without the presence of the official peace committees from the Eastern bloc, conversation was more relaxed.

Jacek Kuron of the **Polish KOS** (Committee for Social Resistance) sent his contribution in the form of an interview. He spoke of the difficulty of bringing the peace discussion into the Polish underground movement, which often approves of U.S. policy because it is anti-Soviet. But he also made it clear that there is some interest in the denuclearization of Central Europe, and called on activists to search for a way of talking about peace that will reach more Poles. Similar points were made in a written message from the Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel.

Talk of "detente from above" had its place at the convention alongside "detente from below." Delegates from West Germany's Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.) distributed a draft treaty to ban chemical weapons from both **German states**, agreed on by the S.P.D. and East Germany's ruling party. The treaty, complete with verification procedures, could serve as a model for the creation of nuclear free zones. And for the first time at an END convention, North/South topics, such as South Africa and Central America, were a focus of discussion.



There were several workshops on **Star Wars**, a relatively new issue for the European movements, which in many cases are having to respond to ambiguous government positions. Australia, Norway and Denmark have rejected Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's invitation to participate in S D I research; Italy, West Germany and Britain have accepted it, with conditions and reservations. The French have proposed an independent European research program known as EUREKA. Though some European groups are strongly opposed to EUREKA, others have not taken a position. A representative of the Dutch Pax Christi even saw it as an opportunity for Europe to approach technology in "a more peaceful way."

On a practical note, the convention discussed support for the **Dutch** movement's signature campaign against cruise missiles. Holland is the final country where deployment may still be stopped: The government is scheduled to make a final decision on November 1.

• Seven editorial members of the **Norwegian** peace magazine *Ikkevold* have been found guilty of disclosing information "with the purpose of undermining the security of the State." The magazine had published an article about Norwegian links in the U.S. antisubmarine Sound Surveillance System, compiled from publicly available information. *Ikkevold*'s editor received a nine-month prison sentence; the others were fined.

• **Dutch peace activists** have revealed details of the Intelligence Services' infiltration and surveillance of their movement. One case involved an English undercover agent named John Wood, who spent several months at Woensdrecht peace camp in order to inform on activists and provoke violence there. Wood was sentenced to a year in jail for stealing 30mm cannon shells. The Dutch authorities confirmed that he was referred to them by the U.S. Embassy.

—Maria Margaronis

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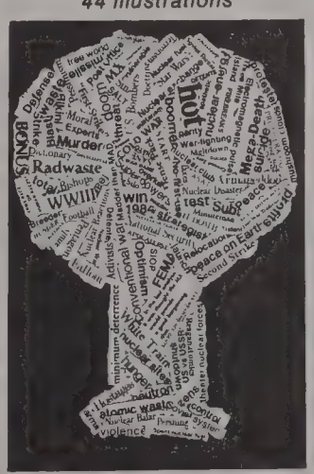

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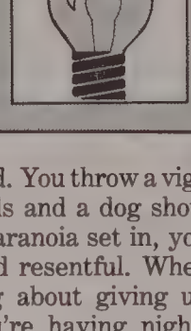

You feel outnumbered. You throw a vigil and a couple of kids and a dog show up. As poverty and paranoia set in, you become depressed and resentful. When you're not fantasizing about giving up activism forever, you're having nightmares about turning into an insufferably righteous antinuclear martyr.

Before doing anything drastic, consider Jim Driscoll, who lives in Arizona—the only state to defeat a freeze referendum in 1982. Driscoll insists that organizing for nuclear disarmament is easy, even in the most conservative places in the country. In fact, he doesn't believe in "conservative" propaganda, and points out that the scenario often plays like The Emperor's New Clothes: People believe that everyone around them is reactionary, and so decide that organizing is hopeless. Driscoll wants to break through that illusion to reach the majority of Americans who supposedly back a freeze. "People are just waiting to be told," he says, "that there is something they can do to stop the arms race."

"Living" graph in Phoenix, Arizona

Driscoll, a Vietnam vet and former college professor with a doctorate in organizational behavior and a background in antinuclear activism, moved to Arizona about a year ago, got involved in Freeze Voter '84, and eventually became the state coordinator of the Arizona Center to Reverse the Arms Race, based in Phoenix. From March to June of this year, organizers at the Center:

- Signed up over 600 new dues-paying members.
- Raised $35,000.
- Commissioned a professional opinion poll which shows that, contrary to popular belief, Arizonans favor a freeze by a two-to-one margin.
- Began a study of the economic effect of the arms race on the state.

"The first thing you have to do," says Driscoll, "is focus on the freeze. People say it's dead, but the idea of an across-the-board halt is obvious and compelling. You don't even have to use the word 'freeze'—call it a bilateral halt. But it's something people can relate to."

Once you've got a focus, Driscoll says, going after new members is simple. The Center got its 600 through 10 days of phonebanking in Phoenix and Tucson. Get lists of potential members from sympathetic religious and political groups.

Their strategy for raising all that cash —$20,000 was raised in-state—is breathtaking in its simplicity: They asked rich people for a lot of money. "Any community knows who the rich people are," says Driscoll. "And every peace group I ever knew had rich people involved who hadn't given any money. So we asked the ones with a lot of money to *give* a lot of money. And they gave. [Biggest donation so far: $5000.] No one will give if you don't ask. Peace groups tend to operate under poverty mentalities."

Driscoll *et al* have also had success with what he calls "no-nonsense nuclear disarmament meetings." Those attending these small gatherings, gotten from phonebanking, are instructed to address (not at great length) just four questions: 1) What have you already done for nuclear disarmament? 2) What information about disarmament do you have that would interest others? 3) What disarmament activities do you want to do in the future? and 4) What would stop you from doing them? In this way, people trade and share organizing ideas and often, by deciding to work together, get the extra impetus needed to go beyond thinking to action.

Out of one of these meetings, for example, an artist came up with the idea of staging a "living graph," made of 100 children, standing in rows, to illustrate runaway military spending as opposed to other federal expenditures. (This idea, which groups have executed in the past by painting graphs on the street, has a special resonance when children are used.) The event was widely-covered by Phoenix media.

Driscoll will be happy to field organizing questions from others in seemingly hostile locations. If he's right, it's probably not as bad as you think. Call the Center at (602) 968-6280 or write to 1210 E Virginia Ave, Phoenix, AZ 85006.

—Renata Rizzo

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

FILMS

On the Eighth Day, produced by Michael Andrews. This film, a one-hour British documentary on the efforts of Soviet and American scientists to explore the ecological consequences of a nuclear exchange, details the work of the TTAPS study and other scientific descriptions of nuclear winter. It makes for grim viewing, but it's well worthwhile. (Rental: ¾" and ½" video $100 from Films, Inc., 1213 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, IL 60091 800-323-4222.)

Threads. This widely-praised drama, which depicts the effects of a nuclear attack on Great Britain and was first shown on Ted Turner's WTBS earlier this year, is now available for rental or purchase. (Purchase: ¾" $499, ½" $359. Rental: ¾" and ½" $100 from Films, Inc., 1213 Wilmette Avenue, Wilmette, IL 60091 800-323-4222.)

HIROSHIMA

A Place Called Hiroshima by Betty Jean Lifton, with photographs by Eikoh Hosoe. Lifton, a journalist and filmmaker, and Hosoe, a photographer, document the changes Japan's post-World War II prosperity has brought to Hiroshima. The book includes historical photographs of Hiroshima and its citizens just before and after the blast. Hosoe has photographed the Peace Park and Peace Museum today, where melted stones, roof tiles and crockery are silent testimony of the bomb's power. The Museum stands alongside new shopping centers and entertainment complexes. The book also includes photos of survivors and survivors' descendants. Lifton describes their attempts to hide their backgrounds because they are frequently shunned. ($18.75 from Kodansha Intl., 10 E 53 Street, New York, NY 10022 212-207-7050.)

Hiroshima Maidens, by Rodney Barker. The author, at age 9, appears on the book jacket with two of the Hiroshima Maidens who stayed with his family. On a 1953 trip to Japan, Norman Cousins, then editor of *Saturday Review*, learned about severely disfigured young women survivors, who had no chance for marriage, employment, or normal lives. Cousins arranged for 25 of these women to be flown to New York, where they underwent reconstructive plastic surgery, some as many as 13 times. Barker's fast-paced, moving narrative concentrates on the stories of three maidens, including one who eventually married a Baltimore cabdriver. (Viking, $16.95.)

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE CENTER TO REVERSE THE ARMS RAC

BOOKS

The Ribbon: A Celebration of Life, edited by the Lark Books staff and Marianne Philbin, with a foreword by Studs Terkel. The Ribbon, which "wrapped" the nation's capital on August 4, was made up of panels stitched by Cub Scouts, church and community groups, peace workers, inmates, and groups in other countries. Most of the panels celebrate the natural beauty of the sewers' home states and nations, and/or their human relationships. This book is a catalog of remarkable textile art—with many of the panels reproduced in full color—and includes a description of The Ribbon project and how it was organized. ($14.95 from Lark Books, 50 College Street, Asheville, NC 28801.)

Nuclear Dictionary, by Michael Stephenson and John Weal. This compilation is a concise and complete listing of all the terms necessary to any discussion of nuclear weapons. The dictionary covers weapons systems and components as well as philosophies, personalities, and strategies. (Published by Longman, available for $3.95 from Caroline House, 5S250 Frontenac Road, Naperville, IL 60540 312-983-6400.)

KIDS

Creative Conflict Solving for Kids, Grades 4-9, by Fran Schmidt and Alice Friedman. This teacher's guide and collection of worksheets for students uses games, comic strips, fables, role playing, and other inventive methods to introduce young students to the nature of conflict, and ways of developing negotiating and communicating skills. This sounds a lot less appealing than it is: In one lesson, Dagwood Bumstead stops a fight between two teenagers by making silly noises and faces, demonstrating the disarming power of humor. ($13.95 plus $1 postage from Grace Contrino Abrams Peace Education Foundation, PO Box 19-1153, Miami Beach, FL 33119.)

GUIDES AND REPORTS

Making the Connection: Disarmament, Development and Economic Conversion. The United Nations has put together this excellent two-volume compendium of ways to prevent developing countries' resources from being diverted into armaments. The first volume is a reader of 18 essays on conversion and how it can be accomplished, by scholars, government officials, and activists. Among the contributors who describe how worldwide military expenditures (in 1984, they exceeded $950 billion) could be redirected to socially useful goods, services, and jobs, are such conversion stalwarts as Ruth Leger Sivard, Gordon Adams, and Seymour Melman. The second volume is an excellent listing of all kinds of resources, including recent books and studies with their tables of contents. ($10 [make checks payable to NGLS-NY] from United Nations Nongovernmental Liaison Service, Room DC2-1103, New York, NY 10017 212-754-3124.)

Barker with Hiroshima maidens in 1955

Guide to Investing in Social Change, edited by Susan Meeker-Lowry. This slim booklet contains a wealth of ways to invest your money in accordance with your principles. Lowry includes a directory of revolving loan funds that finance low-income housing, cooperative businesses, and other "small is beautiful" projects, as well as descriptions of alternative economic systems that work well today. ($5, including postage, from Good Money, 28 Main Street, Montpelier, VT 05602 800-535-3551.)

Speakers Briefing Package by the Union of Concerned Scientists, is meant to help any ordinary citizen who wants to do public speaking on nuclear arms issues. For each of seven topics, including nuclear winter and Star Wars, the kit provides a speech outline, questions to anticipate, quotations, and research references. It also offers general pointers on how to speak well and get your message across. ($7.50 per package from the Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02238 617-547-5552.)

The War for Star Wars, by George W. Ball. A strong analysis, critical of the President's space weapons plan, which originally appeared in *The New York Review of Books*. Copies of this 24-page booklet will be distributed at the first international conference on Star Wars, October 16 in London. (Free, from Council for a Livable World, 20 Park Plaza, Boston, MA 02116 617-542-2282.)

Toward a New Security: Lessons of the Forty Years Since Trinity, by the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS). A 73-page report, in book form. Richard Garwin proposes an "appropriate" ballistic missile defense. Philip Morrison examines "insecurity through technical prowess." Hans Bethe and Robert McNamara propose new risk-reduction measures. And more. (Available for $3.50 from UCS, 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02238 617-547-5552.)

Consumer Brand Names of the Top 50 Nuclear Weapons Contractors, by Nuclear Free America. The first exhaustive compilation of consumer products produced by leading companies which also build nuclear weapons components. Tenneco, for example, number 31 on the nuclear contractors list, produces Monroe shock absorbers, Sun Giant dried fruit, and Case-International tractors. The people behind this report want you to boycott these products and to inform the companies that you're on to them. (Available for $3 from Nuclear Free America, 2521 Guilford Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21218 301-235-3575.)

NUCLEAR WINTER

Nuclear Winter: A Growing Global Concern and **Nuclear Winter: Changing Our Way of Thinking.** The first, a 20-minute tape, provides a concise background on the issue (suitable for excerpting on television), including speeches by U.S. and Soviet scientists and bright visuals. The second is a 58-minute lecture, with graphics, by Carl Sagan. (Copies of the first can be purchased for $45 ½", $55 ¾"; the second $65 ½", $75 ¾", from Educational Film and Video Project, 1529 Josephine, Berkeley, CA 94703 415-849-1649.) □

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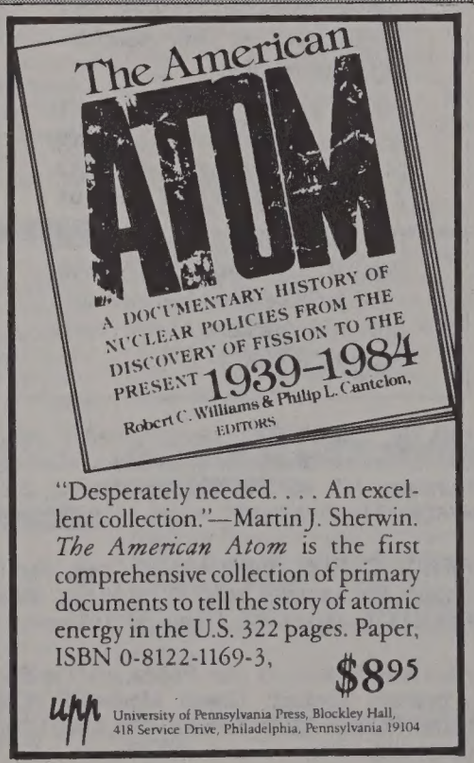
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GOOD READING

The People. Socialist biweekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. $4.00/one year, includes free pamphlet, "'The Nuclear Winter'" $1.00/four months. **The People (NT)**, 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: P.O. Box 7737-L, Berkeley, CA 94707.

KIDS PEACE newsletter, age 9 up, fourth year. 10 issues $12. Sample $1.50. LASER, 15 Walnut, Northampton, MA 01060.

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For info: **STRIKE FOR PEACE**, Box 810 Loomis, CA 95650. (916) 652-9056. Buttons and bumper stickers, 50¢ each. Stamps, 50 for $1.

HELEN CALDICOTT silk-screened t-shirts available individually/for fundraisers. Marnee Kennedy, NT, 4471 Signal, Columbiana, OH 44408/(216) 482-2482.

PEACE CARDS. Anti-apartheid, Love, World Peace. For samples send $2.00 to Sol, Inc., Box 2111N, Hyattsville, Maryland 20784.

For Films/Videos on War, Peace, and the Environment contact: Green Mountain Post Films, PO Box 229D, Turners Falls, MA 01376 (413) 863-4754.

INTERNSHIPS

NUCLEAR TIMES is accepting applications for internships. The program is a full-time apprenticeship in both editorial and business aspects of magazine publishing. Send resume and cover letter to *Renata Rizzo, Managing Editor, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001.*

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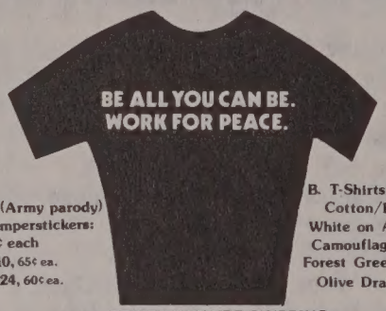

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Anyone with information about the nuclear weapons that fell into the wrong hands CONTACT: Richard Deyo, 3500 Kingman Blvd., Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Am attempting to determine which, if any, government and/or military leaders committed treason, perjury, etc. for possible prosecution.

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ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

EMPLOYMENT

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is seeking a Program and Action Director for creatively developing and implementing national program to assist local and national organizing. Experience in national peace activity; commitment to work for social change; excellent speaking and writing skills; knowledge of current issues and willingness to do some traveling. Salary: $13,500 with paid vacations and health benefits.

Send resume, writing sample and references to:

WILPF National Office
1213 Race St.
Philadelphia, PA 19107-1619
Attn: Pam Jones-Burnley

Performing Arts organization is seeking a coordinator/fundraiser. Applicants should possess strong organizational skills and be seriously committed towards working on the issues of peace and nuclear disarmament. For further information, please contact: Jo Swanson @ (617) 782-8157 or Tod Born @ (603) 357-2343.

EDUCATION

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Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast
Please submit November and December events by October 1

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

UCS TELECONFERENCE

Experts at several sites across the nation will discuss the causes of instability between the US and the USSR in a teleconference being broadcast on both public and cable stations. **Nov 12 (Veterans' Day), 8-10:00 p.m. EST**. *Contact*: Lisa Garza, Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 547-5552.

SOVIET PHYSICIANS

Leading Soviet members of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) will conduct a nationwide speaking tour from **Sept 20-30**. *Contact*: Norman Stein II, IPPNW, 225 Longwood Av, Boston, MA 02115 (617) 738-9404.

PLOWSHARES APPEAL

Arrested for damaging a Minuteman missile silo, Plowshares activist Helen Woodson is currently serving an 18-year prison sentence. Friends and fellow activists have launched a campaign to provide for her seven mentally handicapped children, whose needs are not being met by federal assistance. Contributions may be sent to: Gaudete Peace and Justice Center, 634 Spruce St, Madison, WI 53715 (608) 257-4996.

H-BOMB AWARENESS WEEK

Participants in 48 states will stake out major weapons plants and storage depots, track nuclear convoys, and hold vigils along nuclear transporation routes, **Oct 1-8**. *Contact*: Sam Day or Cassandra Dixon, Nukewatch, 315 W Gorham St, Madison, WI 53703 (608) 256-4146.

PEACE WITH JUSTICE WEEK

Seminars, worship services, civil disobedience, and other events will be conducted across the country from **Oct 19-25** during the third National Peace with Justice Week. Emphasis will be placed on interracial and interreligious coalition building. *Contact*: Gary Gamer, Peace with Justice Week Office, 475 Riverside Dr, Rm 712, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-3347.

STRIKE FOR PEACE

In conjunction with Peace with Justice Week, Students for Social Responsibility at Sierra College in Rocklin, California, are encouraging people across the nation, through a vigorous national advertising campaign, to halt their routines for a single day to express concern over the nuclear arms race by participating in write-ins, vigils, marches and seminars; **Wed Oct 23**. *Contact*: Evan Jones, Strike for Peace, PO Box 810, Loomis, CA 96560 (916) 652-9056.

SEPTEMBER 7

MARYLAND

• **Annapolis** Public hearing to discuss plans to install Empress II, a seven million volt electromagnetic pulse generator in the Chesapeake Bay for testing of naval ship survivability in the event of nuclear war, which is opposed for environmental and security reasons; 90 State Cir, 3rd floor. A letter-writing campaign to Hon. Walter B. Jones, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515 is also underway. *Contact*: Kye Briesath, Alliance to Save the Bay, 301 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 467-6500.

SEPTEMBER 14

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** "Ways to Peace," will emphasize cooperation and convergent action among various peace groups; Loyola Marymount University. *Contact*: Guy de Mallac, United Peace Network, PO Box 1314, Santa Ana, CA 92702 (714) 543-3379 or (714) 531-1768.

CONNECTICUT

• **Groton** Commemoration of victims of nuclear testing in conjunction with launching of the eighth Trident submarine. *Contact*: John Hannon, Coalition to Stop Trident, Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360 (203) 846-8487.

SEPTEMBER 15

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** "Child's Play: An Exhibit on Toys and Games," featuring a hands-on selection of alternatives to racist, sexist, and militarist children's toys, games, and video entertainments; a booklet of recommended toys and games is available upon request (donation solicited); **through Dec 31**. *Contact*: Ruth Barrett, The Peace Museum, 430 W Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

SEPTEMBER 21

DELAWARE

• **Wilmington** "Prescription for the Planet in the Nuclear Age," a symposium featuring prominent American and Soviet physicians; Grand Opera House. *Contact*: Physicians for Social Responsibility, PO Box 7588, Newark, DE 19711 (302) 454-3600.

MINNESOTA

• **Collegeville** Convention, "Peace with Justice: Our Social Responsibility," sponsored by the Pax Christi Minnesota State Assembly, with workshops and speakers; St. John's University. *Contact*: Sister Merle Nolde, Pax Christi Assembly, 1824 Minnesota Blvd SE, St Cloud, MN 56301 (612) 253-3882.

SEPTEMBER 27

NEW YORK

• **New York** Workshop/Conference, "Independent Initiatives and the Nuclear Arms Race, with Betty Lall, Jeremy Stone, Stephen Cohen, and others; Fordham University Faculty Lounge, **through Sept 28**. Limited space for public-at-large; before attending, *contact*: Harold Egeln, SANE, 225 Lafayette St, Ste 207, New York, NY 10012 (212) 219-9527.

OCTOBER 4

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Peace Child Festival, with "Peace Shops" on conflict resolution; a "Youth Assembly" that will draft and send a peace statement to local and federal officials; a children's art show; and a "Peace Village" with displays from peace and religious groups; Peavy Plaza, **through Oct 6**. *Contact*: Donna Seline, Twin Cities Metropolitan Church Commission, 122 W Franklin Av, Rm 308, Minneapolis, MN 55406 (612) 872-7332.

OCTOBER 5

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Regional conference, "From Hiroshima to Star Wars, the Challenge of U.S. First Strike Policy: A New England Conference on New Directions for the Peace Movement," with Randy Forsberg, Sidney Lens, Kosta Tsipis and others. Part of a nationwide call for regional conferences during Sept and Oct; Boston College, **through Oct 6**. *Contact*: Judy Freiwirth, First Strike Conference, 11 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 354-1204.

OREGON

• **Portland** Symposium, "Practice Peace—Prescription for Hope." The symposium will be led by Sam Keen, editor of *Psychology Today* and member of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR); Jim Douglass, a poet and nonviolent activist; and Herb Cawthorne, executive director of the Portland Urban League; Lewis and Clark College chapel. *Contact*: Del Greenfield, Portland PSR, PO Box 14723, Portland, OR 97124 (503) 239-8556.

OCTOBER 7

NEW YORK

• **New York** Six-week course, "East/West Tensions Equal North/South Tensions," covering U.S. public opinion, alternative policies for U.S./Soviet relations, and more, with Prof Stephen Cohen and others; Monday nights **through Nov 11**. *Contact*: David Schilling, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900 ext 238.

OCTOBER 8

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Media workshop, "Breaking into Cable," will show how peace groups can use cable stations to publicize events and discuss peace issues; Minnesota Church Center. *Contact*: Ginger Ehrman, Twin Cities Peace and Justice Coalition, 2401 University Av, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 871-5619.

OCTOBER 18

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** "Pink and Blue, War and Peace: Rethinking Traditional Sex Roles," a conference on the interrelation between traditional sex roles, culture, violence, and the arms race, **through Oct 20**. *Contact*: Helen Hollingsworth, AFSC, 317 E 25 St, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 366-7200.

OCTOBER 19

NEW YORK

• **Garden City** Art Show, "The Hall Exhibit," a tribute to Rev Cameron Hall, recent recipient of a national peace award from the Presbyterian Church, and to his wife, who has also been active in peace issues. All art works must have the theme of peace and be submitted by **Oct 17**. The show runs through **Oct 20**. *Contact*: Chris Adelmann, The Garden City Church Peace Committee, Stewart Av and Whitehall Blvd, Garden City, NY 11530 (516) 746-1700.

WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** "Give Peace A Dance" will raise money for peace to the tune of 12 of Seattle's best bands; 24 hours beginning at 2 p.m. *Contact*: David Foecke, SANE, 5516 Roosevelt Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8050.

OCTOBER 21

ILLINOIS

• **Rock Island** Creative blockade tactics will shut down the Rock Island Arsenal, the nation's nuclear transporation headquarters and the largest manufacturing arsenal. *Contact*: Project Disarm, c/o Disarm Now Action Group, 407 Dearborn, Rm 370, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 427-2533.

OCTOBER 23

CALIFORNIA

• **Sacramento** Seminar on nuclear disarmament including discussion of the types of existing nuclear weapons and the effects of nuclear war, with physicist Charles Schwartz, and Donald Malberg, a recent Congressional candidate active in peace issues; Sierra College. *Contact*: Students for Social Responsibility, Sierra College, Rocklin, CA 95677 (916) 624-3333 ext 2241.

OCTOBER 25

CALIFORNIA

• **Napa** "Nuclear Awareness Seminar for Health Care Professionals," including discussion of the medical effects of nuclear explosions, the impact of the arms race on health care funding, and the psycho-social development of children; Embassy Suite, 1075 California Blvd. *Contact*: Lynne Baker, Physicians for Social Responsibility, 875 Cunard Dr, Napa, CA 94558 (707) 257-6559.

WASHINGTON

• **Spokane** "Human Health and Hanford," a regional conference for members of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) featuring a symposium on the implications of the Hanford nuclear reservation for human health. *Contact*: Amy Mickelson, PSR Spokane, W 321 8th Av, Spokane, WA 99204 (509) 838-7870.

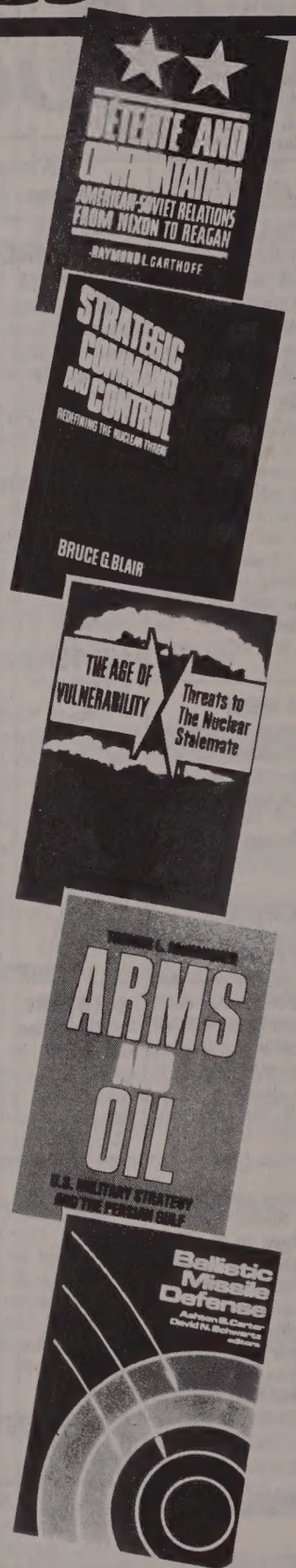
OCTOBER 27

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** "Walk for Peace," will raise funds for Boston-area peace groups in a 10 kilometer circular trek from Boston Commons. *Contact*: Greg Smutny, Walk for Peace, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 868-5259.

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events.

BROOKINGS



Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan
Raymond L. Garthoff

This major new volume is the most comprehensive and detailed analysis available of American-Soviet relations and their global interactions from 1969 through 1984. Garthoff, a retired foreign service officer and ambassador with professional experience in Soviet affairs since 1950, examines both Soviet and American policy in the context of world politics and internal political considerations and developments.

June 1985/1147 pages/$16.95 paper/$39.95 cloth

Strategic Command and Control: Redefining the Nuclear Threat
Bruce G. Blair

In this historical analysis of the capabilities and reliability of U.S. strategic command channels, Blair examines assumptions about mutual deterrence, force strength, and survivability. He concludes that the vulnerability of command, control, and communications not only precludes an effective retaliatory strike but also invites a preemptive Soviet first strike.

May 1985/341 pages/$12.95 paper/$32.95 cloth

The Age of Vulnerability: Threats to The Nuclear Stalemate
Michael Nacht

The strategic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and the fear that this competition could erupt into nuclear war have dominated international politics and increased public concern that the nuclear stalemate will be broken. Nacht evaluates seven threats to the stalemate, concluding that political and technological considerations continue to discourage the use of nuclear weapons, but that controls on mutual deployment are needed to stabilize the stalemate.

April 1985/209 pages/$9.95 paper/$26.95 cloth

Arms and Oil: U.S. Military Strategy and the Persian Gulf
Thomas L. McNaugher

The debate about whether and how the United States can secure important interests in the Gulf region continues to be a major policy issue. In this volume McNaugher offers a military strategy that integrates U.S. forces into the existing security framework of the Persian Gulf. He suggests the United States blend military strategy into a diplomacy that exploits rather than upsets regional security mechanisms.

April 1985/226 pages/$9.95 paper/$26.95 cloth

Ballistic Missile Defense
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